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Kayla Anders
College of William and Mary

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The Effects of Dialect, Gender, and Group Identity on Person Perception

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement
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by

Kayla Elizabeth Anders

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Cheryl L. Dickter
Dr. Cheryl Dickter, Director

Christy Porter
Dr. Christy Porter

Julie Richter
Dr. Julie Richter

Williamsburg, VA
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Running head: THE EFFECTS OF DIALECT, GENDER, AND GROUP IDENTITY

The Effects of Dialect, Gender, and Group Identity on Person Perception

Kayla E. Anders

The College of William and Mary

Abstract

The current study examined the influence of dialect, gender, and group identification on the person perception process. Participants listened to a message delivered in either a standard or southern dialect by either a male or female speaker. The researcher examined differences in speaker evaluations based on the speaker's dialect and gender. The impact of individual differences in southern identification on speaker evaluations was also explored. Results demonstrated that a southern dialect significantly affects perceptions of the speaker. The speaker's gender and participants' level of southern identification interacted with dialect to influence speaker evaluations on a number of measures. Results were discussed in terms of previous research. Implications for southern (and other nonstandard) speakers were also highlighted.

The Effects of Dialect, Gender, and Group Identity on Person Perception

We constantly find ourselves in situations in which we must make inferences about the behavior, attitudes, and personality of other people based on a limited amount of information. When we lack information necessary to make well-informed judgments about others or when we do not have the time or resources to process additional information, we use the information that is available to form perceptions and evaluations of those people. In a number of such ambiguous situations, the only clue with which we have to evaluate a person is his or her voice. In these circumstances, a number of voice characteristics (e.g., the speaker's dialect and gender) as well as several listener characteristics (i.e., group identity) may influence the listener's perceptions and evaluations of the speaker.

Social Categorization and Person Perception

At the most basic level, person perception consists of two steps (Hinton, 1993). First, an individual (the observer) perceives and collects information about another individual (the target). Second, the observer employs that information in making inferences about the target. These inferences might include explanations for the target's behavior or assumptions about the target's personality or preferences. Research has demonstrated that there are several important aspects of the situation which affect these inferences about the target. First, the target supplies a great deal of information which influences person perception. This information may include the target's physique (Ryckman, Robbins, Kaczor, & Gold, 1989; Wells & Siegel, 1961), height (Wilson, 1968), voice (Addington, 1968; Argyle, 1988), or hairstyle (Roll & Verinis, 1971). The target's clothing also plays a key role in person perception (Cahoon & Edmonds, 1989; Sissons, 1971). For example, dressing in a school uniform positively influences perceptions of a target student's behavior, academic achievement, and academic potential as perceived by peers and teachers

(Behling, 1994). Second, the perceiver's influence on information supplied by the target plays an important role in the process of person perception. Concreteness-abstractness (Harvey, Hunt, & Schroder, 1961) is one observer characteristic that may affect person perception. A concrete individual conveys that there is only one correct way of thinking about or explaining things; this individual cannot tolerate disconfirming information. Conversely, an abstract individual recommends looking for a number of interpretations of any situation. The extent to which an observer might be described as either concrete or abstract would certainly affect the observer's interpretation of a target's behavior because these two types of individuals deal with disconfirming information very differently. Third, the observer's relationship to the target affects the inferences he or she makes about the target's behavior or personality. The continuum model of impression formation (Fiske & Pavelchak, 1986; Fiske & Neuberg, 1990) maintains that person perception involves a rapid initial categorization in which the observer attends to the target's physical characteristics and other readily-available information. This model puts forward the idea that, if the target is irrelevant to the observer, this initial categorization may serve as the only basis on which the observer makes inferences. If the target is of some importance to the observer (e.g., there is a possibility of future interaction), however, the observer pays considerably more attention to the target in order to confirm the accuracy of the initial categorization and combine additional information about the target with the initial categorization (Fiske, Neuberg, Pratto, & Allman, 1986). Fourth, the social context of the situation may shape person perception. For example, in a study conducted by Ryan and Carranza (1975), Mexican American, African American, and White participants rated American speakers with a Spanish accent lower on a number of personal characteristics including level of education, intelligence, friendliness, and trustworthiness as compared to American speakers with

no accent in two different contexts, home and school. These investigators found that, while all groups of participants perceived the non-accented speaker more favorably on personal traits in both contexts, the accented speakers received higher ratings in the home context, demonstrating that individuals are more tolerant of accented speakers in the informal context. Finally, the cultural setting is important in the process of person perception. Korten (1974) asked participants to provide descriptions of familiar and unfamiliar persons to assess differences in person perception among American and Ethiopian students. Results indicated that, while both groups of students categorized others on the basis of their interests and activities, American students emphasized individuals' abilities, knowledge, cognitive-emotional style, and interpersonal style while Ethiopian students highlighted others' interpersonal interactions, opinions, and beliefs in their use of social categories.

Thus, although there are a variety of target, situational, and observer factors that affect the person perception process, most researchers agree that social categorization is the initial and most likely step in person perception (Fiske, Lin, & Neuberg, 1999). Tajfel (1978, p. 61) describes social categorization "as the ordering of social environment in terms of groupings of persons in a manner which makes sense to the individual." Researchers have put forward several hypotheses to explain why individuals group people into categories. One hypothesis states that social categories are necessary due to information overload; researchers who support this explanation assert that humans have limited cognitive resources and social categories help simplify the complex world in which we live (Hamilton & Trolier, 1986; Taylor, 1981). Another hypothesis contends that social categories are necessary due to a shortage of information; investigators who promote this explanation argue that social categories are useful when a situation requires inferences about another's behavior and personality (Medin, 1988; Oakes &

Turner, 1990). Regardless of whether we categorize others to simplify our overwhelmingly complex world or make inferences when we lack information, a number of factors form the basis on which we categorize groups of people. Campbell (1956, 1967) asserts that categorization of a group may be based on any observable physical or social trait, but there is strong evidence that individuals categorize people first and foremost on the basis of age, gender, and race (Brewer, 1988; Fiske, Lin, & Neuberg, 1999), most likely due to the fact that these characteristics are readily observable.

Numerous investigators of social cognition have argued that mere categorization of people into groups will lead to the activation of stereotypes about those groups (Hamilton, 1981; Zárate & Smith, 1990). The concept of stereotypes is exceptionally complex, and a number of researchers have offered diverse definitions for the term. For example, one of the earliest definitions, put forward by Allport (1954), described a stereotype as an exaggerated belief about some category which will shape our behavior toward that category. Fiske and Taylor (1984) view stereotypes as a type of role schema which helps us to systematize information about the traits and behavior of certain types of people based on social categories (e.g., age, race, and sex). Despite the large number of definitions, most often ‘stereotype’ refers to the attribution of various traits and characteristics to groups, most often on the basis of race, ethnicity, and gender (Schneider, 2004).

Thus, researchers have suggested that the social categorization process leads us to quickly categorize targets according to race, gender, and age in order to promote organization and memory of information concerning social targets (e.g., Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff, & Ruderman, 1978). A wealth of social psychological research has been dedicated to examining the content of these stereotypes. Katz and Braly (1933) conducted the earliest investigations of stereotype

content. The researchers provided participants with a list of adjectives and asked them to indicate which traits they would attribute to 10 racial and ethnic groups. Results demonstrated that White American participants had very specific stereotypes about various racial/ethnic groups. For example, Germans were stereotyped as scientifically minded (as indicated by 78% of participants) and African Americans were stereotyped as superstitious (84% of participants). Since that first study in 1933, hundreds of studies have investigated the changes in stereotype content over the years for various racial and ethnic groups, as well as the stereotype content of other groups, such as males and females (Cowan & Stewart, 1977; Fernberger, 1948; Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Broverman, 1968; Sankis, Corbitt, & Widiger, 1999; Sherriffs & McKee, 1957; Smith, 1939).

Dialect and Person Perception

As previously outlined, a target's voice may constitute one very important piece of information during the person perception process, especially when no other information is available (Hinton, 1993). That is, when no other categorical information is present, voice cues may cause social perceivers to categorize the target according to the voice and, in turn, activate stereotypes associated with that category. Thus, it is possible that simply listening to another's voice may cause social perceivers to activate associated categorical information and make social judgments about that individual, based on the activated stereotypes. Research has shown support for this idea. For example, Addington (1968) demonstrated that voice stereotypes have a considerable effect on listeners' perceptions. The voices of two male speakers and two female speakers were recorded and participants were asked to describe the personality of each speaker. During each recording, the speakers simulated one of several voice qualities (e.g., breathiness, tenseness, nasality), one of three speaking rates (normal, fast, or slow), and one of three levels of

pitch variety (normal, less than normal, and more than normal). Results indicated that a number of voice characteristics impacted the listeners' perceptions of the speaker's personality and perceptions of male and female speakers differ depending on which vocal quality is introduced. For example, increased breathiness led to male speakers being rated as younger and more artistic and female speakers being rated as "more feminine, prettier, more petite, more effervescent... more highly strung," and shallower (Addington, p. 502). This study demonstrated that as speakers, both male and female, increase their rate of speech, listener ratings of animation and extroversion increase as well. Finally, the speaker's level of intonation affected ratings of personality. When male and female speakers increased their pitch, listeners perceived them as more dynamic, but listeners also rated these males as more feminine and aesthetically inclined and females as more extroverted. Harms (1961) demonstrated that the process of judging speakers and making inferences about them based on voice occurs very quickly. After listening to one of nine tape-recordings, prepared by individuals from different status groups (low, medium, and high) and ranging from 40 to 60 seconds, participants assigned ratings of status and credibility to the speaker. Results showed that, as speaker status increased, listener ratings of status and credibility also increased. After the experiment, participants reported forming their assessments of the speaker's status and credibility after hearing as little as 10 to 15 seconds of dialogue.

These researchers and countless others have shown that many aspects of an individual's voice will influence listener's perceptions of the speaker's personality and character. A number of studies have indicated that one aspect of voice, dialect, significantly shapes listeners' perceptions of the speaker's personality, background, and character (Bottriell & Johnson, 1985; Giles, 1970, 1973; Giles & Sassoon, 1983; Lambert, 1967; Mulac & Rudd, 1977; Schenk-

Hamlin, 1978). Larimer, Beatty, and Broadus (1988) asserted that the speaker's accent or dialect might be more important in the listeners' judgment formations than the speaker's race. While the terms 'dialect' and 'accent' are often used interchangeably, these concepts must be distinguished: dialect typically indicates regional differences in language whereas accent most often implies dissimilarities in language among individuals of different nationalities (Gill, 1994). For example, the southern, Midwestern, or New York variations of the American accent constitute dialects. In contrast, the Mexican-American or French-Canadian variations in language constitute accents.

A number of researchers have offered explanations as to why a speaker's dialect affects listeners' perceptions of the speaker to such a great extent. Lambert (1967) put forward the linguistic stereotype hypothesis which suggests that we form perceptions of an individual by focusing on his or her manner of speaking, which reveals the speaker's background and regional location, after which the listener associates a stereotype with the individual's manner of speaking. This stereotype then mediates judgments about and behavior toward the speaker. If the group stereotype called to mind is positive, the speaker will be positively evaluated. Conversely, the awareness of a negative group stereotype will lead listeners to negatively evaluate speakers of that group. To arrive at this explanation, Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum (1960) recorded the voices of male speakers producing either a French-Canadian (FC) or English-Canadian (EC) accent and asked EC participants to evaluate the speaker's personality based on these recordings. Results showed that these participants negatively evaluated the FC speakers and positively evaluated EC speakers, rating the EC speakers higher on measure of attractiveness, height, intelligence, dependability, kindness, ambitiousness, and character. Interestingly, after presenting the same recordings to FC participants (similar to the

group of EC students in terms of age, social class, and education), these investigators found that these participants also evaluated the EC speakers more positively than the FC speakers on a number of traits, including intelligence, dependability, likeableness, and character. Lambert and colleagues attribute this trend of evaluating EC speakers more favorably to the widespread stereotype that French Canadians are “relatively second-rate people” (Lambert, 1967). Gardner and Taylor’s (1968) research is consistent with Lambert’s hypothesis. In their investigation, participants listened to one of three messages recorded in a FC accent and rated the speaker on six traits common to the FC stereotype (religious, poor, talkative, artistic, proud, and emotional) on 7-point semantic differential scales. In one of these messages, the neutral message, the speaker did not mention French Canadians or the FC stereotype. In the stereotype message, the speaker portrayed himself (and French Canadians in general) in a manner consistent with the FC stereotype, referencing each of the six traits related to the stereotype on two different occasions. Finally, in the anti-stereotype message, the speaker portrayed himself (and French Canadians) in a manner contradictory to the FC stereotype, referencing the other extreme of the semantic differential scales (irreligious, wealthy, quiet, inartistic, humble, and rational). Gardner and Taylor demonstrated that all three messages resulted in the speaker being rated toward the stereotype end of the differential scales. While the speaker reading the anti-stereotype message received slightly more positive ratings than when he read the neutral or stereotype messages, these ratings were not as far toward the anti-stereotype direction of the differential scales as the investigators expected, demonstrating that addressing and even contradicting a group’s negative stereotype will not eliminate negative evaluations of group members.

There are competing theories that have attempted to account for the effects of dialect on person perception. Smith (1985) argues that individuals have certain preconceived notions about

how some speakers or dialects are better than or superior to others. Similarly, accent prestige theory puts forward the idea that individuals who speak with a Received Pronunciation (R.P.) dialect are perceived more positively with respect to a number of personal traits than individuals speaking with a regional dialect (Giles, 1970; St. Clair & Giles, 1980). A R.P. dialect is the standard British dialect, usually associated with southern England (Giles, 1971). To test this theory, Giles set out to determine the level of prestige associated with different British dialects. In one of his first investigations (Giles, 1970), he recorded a male speaker reading a factually neutral message while simulating 13 foreign and regional accents including R.P. and several regional British dialects. Participants listened to each of these messages and rated the speaker on three dimensions: 1) the level of pleasantness of the accent, 2) how comfortable they would be interacting with the speaker, and 3) the level of prestige or status associated with the speaker's accent. Results indicated that the speaker received the highest ratings on all three dimensions when producing the R.P. dialect and lowest ratings when simulating the Birmingham dialect, commonly described as a "Third class" or "town and industrial" dialect (p. 212). Furthermore, Giles (1973) produced recordings of one male speaker producing either a R.P. dialect or one of three regional, British dialects: South Welsh, Somerset, and Birmingham (decreasing in the level of "accent prestige" [Giles, 1970]). Results showed that, as the level of accent prestige associated with a dialect increased, the more favorably participants rated the quality of the argument. St. Clair & Giles (1980) demonstrated that speakers with an R.P. dialect are rated higher than individuals speaking with regional dialects on "status" and "solidarity" traits. Status denotes perceptions of the speaker's intelligence, education, social class, and success. Solidarity implies perceptions of the speaker's friendliness, trustworthiness, and kindness. While Giles and colleagues conducted their investigations in the United Kingdom, this phenomenon has been

demonstrated in the United States as well: speakers with standard dialects receive higher ratings on personal characteristics than speakers with nonstandard, regional dialects such as the Boston, New York, or southern dialect. For example, in a study conducted by Mulac and Rudd (1977), participants listened to a message presented in three American dialects: General (or standard) American, Appalachian, and Bostonian. Then, they rated speakers on three dimensions: socio-intellectual status, aesthetic quality, and dynamism. These researchers found that speakers with a General American dialect received the highest ratings on two out of the three dimensions (socio-intellectual status and aesthetic quality). The Bostonian speakers received the highest ratings of dynamism, followed by the General American speakers. Schenck-Hamlin (1978) recorded the voice of a male speaker while he produced either a Midwestern or southern dialect and found that participants rated the speaker significantly lower on measures of character appeal, interpersonal interaction, competence, and message coherence when he produced his southern dialect as compared to his Midwestern dialect.

Gender Stereotypes and Person Perception

The study of gender stereotypes began with an investigation conducted by Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, and Broverman (1968). Before carrying out their study, the authors developed a stereotype questionnaire by having undergraduate students generate a list of sex-specific behaviors, attitudes, and personality characteristics, resulting in a list of 122 items. On the final questionnaire, the authors arranged items in bipolar form. For example, the item for aggression would range from 1 (*Not at all aggressive*) to 7 (*Very aggressive*). During the actual study, the experimenter distributed this questionnaire to all participants and provided these instructions: “imagine that you are going to meet a person for the first time and the only thing you know in advance is that the person is an adult male.” Participants were instructed to indicate

the extent to which they anticipated each item to describe this person and were told not to use themselves as a basis for their descriptions of this person. After they finished, the experimenter instructed participants to repeat the questionnaire while imagining an adult female, then to repeat the questionnaire for a third time and indicate the extent to which each item described themselves. In a separate study, participants were given this questionnaire and asked to mark which pole of each item society perceived as more desirable. Questionnaire items marked by at least 75% of men and 75% of women as either masculine traits or feminine traits were labeled sex-stereotypic traits. Using this percentage of agreement between the sexes yielded a total of 41 stereotypic items. The following are examples of traits indicated most often to describe the prospective male: aggressive, independent, unemotional, objective, dominant, not excitable in a minor crisis, active, competitive, assertive. Examples of traits marked most often to describe the prospective female: does not use harsh language, talkative, tactful, gentle, aware of feelings of others, neat in habits, quiet, strong need for security, expresses tender feelings. Results demonstrated that sex-role stereotypes are clearly defined and largely agreed upon by men and women. Furthermore, this study demonstrated that more stereotypically-masculine characteristics are perceived as more socially desirable than stereotypically-feminine characteristics, and that male and female self-concepts and sex-role stereotypes are very similar. Subsequent researchers have reached similar conclusions (Ashmore, Del Boca, & Wohlers, 1986; Bem, 1974; De Lisi & Soundranayagam, 1990; Ruble, 1983, Williams & Bennett, 1975). A number of researchers studying gender stereotypes have highlighted an important point to consider: participants do not rate either gender extremely. Gender stereotypes may be prevalent, but they are not enthusiastically or unconditionally embraced (De Lisi & Soundranayagam, 1990; Eagly, 1987; Helgeson, 1994). For example, Deaux & Lewis (1983) found that there are

four different, relatively independent components of gender stereotypes: traits, role behaviors, occupations, and physical appearance. These researchers later (1984) demonstrated that the knowledge of one component in a certain male or female may implicate other components, although all components are not equivalent in their influence on these assumptions.

Investigators of gender stereotypes have offered a number of descriptions of how stereotypically male and female traits cluster together. Several groups of researchers (Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Broverman, 1968; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975) proposed that gender stereotypes cluster around two types of traits: traits related to warmth and expressiveness are used most often to characterize women whereas traits related to competence and rationality are typically employed to characterize men. Bakan (1966) has proposed two basic qualities that describe living organisms, a sense of agency (recognized as the “male principle”) and a sense of communion (recognized as the “female principle”). Agentic characteristics are exhibited by self-assertion, self-protectiveness, and self-aggrandizement. Conversely, communal characteristics are displayed in selflessness, concern with others, and a desire to be at one with others. Finally, the stereotype content model (SCM; Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002; Fiske, Xu, Cuddy, & Glick, 1999) identifies qualitatively distinct types of prejudice developed on the basis of relative status and perceived interdependence of particular groups. The model explains prejudice toward groups in terms of stereotypes of competence and warmth, showing that Americans hold very specific stereotypes about women. These authors suggest that individuals typically perceive women as respectable or likeable but not both, all depending on how she is viewed in terms of status and cooperation/competition (Cuddy, Fiske, & Glick, 2004). For example, when women enter the workforce and compete on the same level as men, perceptions of warmth and competence change drastically from the conventional

stereotype of the warm and caring female. Female professionals are considered competitors possessing high status and stereotyped as exhibiting high competence but low warmth; these women are considered worthy of respect, but are not well-liked and are viewed enviously. Perceptions of female professionals are easily compared to perceptions of the stereotypical female (embodied in the label of “housewife”) who is perceived as low status and cooperative, and therefore stereotypically exhibits low competence but high warmth. This stereotype evokes what Fiske and colleagues (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, & Xu, 2002) refer to as “condescending affection.” Eagly and Mladinic (1989, 1993) provide support for the idea that gender stereotypes arise out of perceptions of warmth and competence, putting forward the idea that positive stereotypes about women’s personality lead people to hold negative stereotypes about their competence and status. With regards to competence, Glick and Fiske (1996) argue that, while gender stereotypes attribute a number of positive traits and characteristics to women, these positive qualities involve measures of social and emotional ability, not achievement-oriented dimensions. Therefore, women are described as nice and likeable but incompetent.

Research has clearly established the existence and prevalence of gender stereotypes, but less research has focused on how these stereotypes affect person perception. Bem (1981) suggests that gender stereotypes serve as gender schemas, or cognitive classifications, which direct the process of person perception. Then, the pieces of information we are likely to observe, recall, and interpret are selected in relation to our schemas about the genders. A study conducted by Condry and Condry (1976) supports this idea that we employ gender as a social category. Before viewing a video of a nine-month-old infant, the experimenter informed half of the participants that the child was a boy and the other half that the child was a girl. The investigators found that participants described identical emotional responses very differently based on the

supposed gender of the infant. After repeated presentations of a jack-in-the-box, the child began to cry, screaming when the jack-in-the-box unexpectedly appears. Participants who thought they were observing a boy attributed a feeling of anger to the child's response whereas participants observing a girl ascribed a feeling of fear to her emotional response. Another study involving the assessment of child behavior was conducted by Condry and Ross (1985). Participants watched a video of children playing in the snow. The children's genders were not distinguishable, disguised by their snowsuits. One child acted out toward the other child (e.g., hitting the child, throwing snowballs). One group of participants thought that the children in the video were both female while another group believed both children to be male. A third group was informed that the aggressor was a male and the victim was a female whereas a final group believed the aggressor to be female and the victim to be male. Participants were asked to rate the extent to which the behavior exhibited by the aggressor was aggressive. Participants who believed both children to be male rated the aggressor as significantly less aggressive than participants in the other three conditions. The author explained these results in terms of the expectations people have about gender-specific behaviors. Because unruly behavior is expected when boys play together, participants did not perceive the hitting and throwing snowballs as aggressive. Finally, Taylor and Falcone (1982) demonstrated that adults are also perceived differently based on their gender. These investigators played an audiotape of a political discussion with three male and three female participants and all group members participated in the discussion to an equal extent. After listening to the discussion, participants rated the voices on a number of measures, including how political "savvy" and influential each person was. Results demonstrated that the males who participated in the discussion were rated significantly more favorably than the female participants on four out of five measures. The results from these

three studies establish gender as a social category since the same behavior is interpreted differently depending on which gender is being observed.

Group Identity and Person Perception

One feature of social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) postulates that all people desire and work toward a positive social identity. While this statement seems relatively straightforward, it has considerable implications for person perception. As previously noted, social categorization is the first step in person perception (Fiske, Lin, & Neuberg, 1999). Berger and Luckmann (1967) considered social categorization as a method of orientation which aids in the creation and definition of an individual's place in society, thereby forming a social identity. Turner (1975) conceptualized "social identity" as that element of an individual's self-concept anchored in the knowledge of membership to one or more social groups as well as the emotional significance involved in that group membership. The need for a positive social identity necessarily entails a social comparison of the ingroup (or group with which the individual identifies) to the outgroup (or group with which the individual does not identify) in which the ingroup is perceived more favorably than the outgroup. Tajfel (1979) labeled this "need for positive social identity, expressed through a desire to create, maintain, or enhance the positively valued distinctiveness of ingroups compared to outgroups" as the sequence of social categorization – social identity – social comparison – positive ingroup distinctiveness (Turner, 1999, p. 8). Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, and Flament (1971) first observed this phenomenon in an experiment. In the first part of the study, a group of school-aged boys conveyed their preference for several pieces of abstract artwork created by two artists, Klee and Kandinsky. While the experimenter informed participants that they would be divided into two groups based on their preferences for the artists, the investigators actually randomly assigned participants to the two

groups. After this part of the study, participants advanced to the second part of the study which involved a second, seemingly-unrelated experiment. They were told by the experimenter that utilizing the groups formed in the first part of the study would facilitate coding and administration. The task in this second part of the study involved the distribution of real money to other participants in their group as well as participants in the other group. As the experimenter notified each participant of his group membership, but no one else's, participants did not know to which group member in particular they were distributing money. Finally, the experimenter stressed that no participant could distribute money to himself, thereby eliminating self-interest. Tajfel and colleagues examined the amount of money distributed to ingroup members compared to the amount distributed to outgroup members and found that participants distributed significantly less to outgroup members, exhibiting clear-cut ingroup favoritism. Billig and Tajfel (1973) later acknowledged that they did not properly distinguish between social categorization and similarity, admitting that perceived similarity (as opposed to mere social categorization) could have led participants to distribute money to ingroup members. To test this possibility, Billig and Tajfel conducted a follow-up study in which they examined the effects of social categorization and similarity on intergroup behavior. These investigators employed the same procedure utilized in the initial study, later termed the "minimal group paradigm" because these are groups in the minimal sense of the word, with the exception that they introduced a "non-similarity" condition which eliminated similarity as an explanation for subsequent ingroup favoritism. Results demonstrated that, while perceived similarity did cause increased levels of ingroup favoritism, social categorization constituted the critical variable in causing intergroup discrimination. The results of these two studies, as well as results from a number of additional studies which have ruled out alternative explanations for the ingroup favoritism phenomenon

(Allen & Wilder, 1975; Billig, 1973; Tajfel & Billig, 1974; Wilder & Allen, 1974), led researchers to conclude that simply the act of social categorization causes discriminative behavior, even when the relevant division is on a spurious basis.

One area of research in which this ingroup favoritism-outgroup discrimination phenomenon is not so clear-cut is research concerning voice characteristics, including accents and dialects. Schmied (1991, p. 185) describes language “as a means of expressing...a personal and/or group identity.” Accents and dialects constitute examples of how aspects of language explicitly convey the speaker’s group identity because they instantly provide the listener with information about the speaker’s ethnicity and background (Riches & Foddy, 1989). Therefore, it would be expected that individuals will exhibit ingroup favoritism toward others who share these voice characteristics. In some investigations testing this hypothesis, the expected ingroup-favoritism effects are observed. For example, Giles and Sassoon (1983) demonstrated that listeners are more likely to agree with the speaker and to change their stance on a particular topic if the speaker delivering the message speaks with an dialect similar to their own, revealing that individuals find speakers with a dialect similar to their own more persuasive than speakers with different dialects. In other studies, however, the results have challenged social identity theory predictions. In a study conducted in Australia investigating differences in evaluations of a speaker based on the speaker’s accent, either Anglo-Australian (the standard Australian accent) or Greek-Australian, and listener’s group identity, either Anglo- or Greek-Australian, Callan, Gallois, and Forbes (1983) found that both Anglo- and Greek-Australian participants rated the Anglo-Australian speaker higher than the Greek-Australian speaker on measures of status and, in some contexts, solidarity.

The investigators of this study explained these results, which are clearly at odds with the assumptions made by social identity theory, in terms of group identification. They rationalized the lower ratings of the Greek-Australian speaker given by listeners of the same ethnicity by explaining that Greek-Australians appear to identify to a large extent with the Anglo-Australian majority (Callan, Gallois, and Forbes, 1983). This explanation highlights an important premise of self-categorization theory (Turner, 1987), a theory very closely related to social identity theory. Self-categorization theory states that whether or not an individual identifies as a member of a particular group significantly influences the manner in which they handle that group membership. In particular, level of group identification is predicted to moderate an individual group member's social perceptions. It seems logical to proceed one step further and predict that, as group identification increases, so too should ingroup bias. In fact, a number of researchers (Hinkle & Brown, 1990; Kelly, 1993) attempted to demonstrate a causal relationship between ingroup identification and bias toward ingroup members and were largely unsuccessful. In response to these efforts to link these aspects of group behavior, Turner (1999) asserted that social identity theory does not suggest a direct causal relationship between ingroup identification and ingroup bias. Nevertheless, since the initial failed attempts to link group identification with ingroup bias, several researchers have looked at the combined effects of group identification and other variables on ingroup bias and found significant relationships. Some example of variables that interact with group identification to influence levels of ingroup favoritism and outgroup discrimination include competition and perceived threat (Branscombe & Wann, 1994; Duckitt & Mphuthing, 1998), intergroup attitudes and beliefs (Guimond, 2000), group norms of intergroup differentiation (Jetten, Spears, & Manstead, 1997), and ability to choose the ingroup versus having an assigned ingroup (Perreault & Bourhis, 1999).

A study examining the effects of listener group identity and speaker dialect on interpersonal evaluations successfully demonstrated that group identification predicts ingroup bias. Abrams and Hogg (1987) recruited Scottish students from Dundee to participate in their study. These Dundee inhabitants listened to a recording which presented the voice of a female producing two of three dialects: a Dundee dialect, a Glasgow dialect (a slightly different Scottish accent), or a London dialect. While listening to the recording, participants rated each speaker on measures of status and solidarity. The authors predicted that participants would rate the Dundee dialect most favorably and the London dialect least favorably regardless of the other dialects they were presented with, reasoning that identification would be greatest with the Dundee speaker and least with the London speaker. Abrams and Hogg hypothesized that, while ratings for the Glasgow speaker would be lower as compared to the Dundee speaker, ratings for the Glasgow speaker would exceed those for the London speaker. The results confirmed both of these hypotheses, showing that dialect loyalties will shift according to which aspect of identity is salient. In addition, the researchers found a positive correlation between level of Scottish identity and ratings given to the Scottish speakers as well as a negative correlation between level of separatism (or feelings about Scottish self-government as well as perceptions of the significance and persistence of Scottish dialects) and ratings given to the London speaker. These correlations suggest that, if Scottish identity is salient and a non-Scottish (i.e., English) outgroup is present, positive ingroup evaluations in both absolute terms and the need for intergroup distinctiveness (separatism) is encouraged.

The Current Study

Countless researchers have examined the isolated effects of certain social categories (e.g., dialect, gender, and group identification) on person perception, but few have investigated the

combined effects of these social categories on the person perception process. The researcher of the present study manipulated these three aspects of the situation, speaker dialect and gender and listener group identification, in order to further explore person perception based on dialect. In this respect, the current study is a partial replication of Mulac and Rudd's (1977) study investigating the effects of the speaker's dialect and gender and listeners' geographic region on ratings of standard and nonstandard speakers. Mulac and Rudd's results indicated that speakers with nonstandard dialects (i.e., Appalachian or Bostonian) received lower ratings of socio-intellectual status (or measures of status and education) than speakers with the General American. An interaction between dialect and listener region showed that listeners from Eastern Kentucky (which corresponds with the Appalachian dialect) and Boston exhibited this decrease in ratings to a greater extent for the Appalachian speakers than the Bostonian speakers while listeners from Southern California (which corresponds with the General American dialect) decreased ratings for the two nonstandard dialects equally. The speaker's gender did not significantly influence listeners' evaluations of the speaker. Turner (1987) reminds us, however, that group membership alone may not influence an individual's perceptions of ingroup versus outgroup members, but whether or not that individual identifies himself as a member of the group may have an effect on his intergroup perceptions. Therefore, simply recruiting participants from a specific region which corresponds with a dialect may not adequately capture the relationship between dialect and group identification. For that reason, the researcher of the current study recruited participants with various levels of identification with the specific region represented by the speaker's dialect.

In order to measure the effects of speaker dialect and gender and listener group identification on listeners' evaluations of the speaker, participants who indicated either low

southern self-identification or high southern self-identification on a large mass-testing inventory were recruited for the current study. These participants listened to one of four messages delivered by either a male or a female in one of two dialects, standard or southern. While listening to the message, participants completed a survey consisting of questions concerning message and speaker characteristics. After completing the questionnaire, participants completed a word-completion task designed to measure southern stereotype activation.

Based on the previous research, the present study was designed to explore the effect of a nonstandard, regional dialect (specifically, the Southern dialect) on person perception. The effect of the southern dialect on seven speaker characteristics (character appeal, competence, message coherence, status, level of education, intelligence, and warmth) was examined. This aspect of the study involved a partial replication of Shenck-Hamlin's (1978) study which demonstrated that Southern speakers were rated lower than standard speakers on four characteristics: character appeal, interpersonal attraction, competence, and message coherence. In addition, the current study included two characteristics measured in Mulac and Rudd's (1977) study: status and level of education. Additionally, measures of intelligence and warmth have not been previously investigated in relation to the southern dialect. Based on the conclusions reached by past researchers, the following hypotheses were formed:

Hypothesis 1a. Speakers with a Southern dialect will receive lower ratings than speakers with standard dialects on all characteristics (competence, message coherence, intelligence, level of education, and status) except character appeal and warmth.

Hypothesis 1b. Southern speakers will receive equal or higher ratings of warmth and character appeal as compared to the standard speaker.

In addition, the present study was designed to explore gender differences in perceptions of warmth, competence, and status when participants listen to a recorded message and rate the voices of a male and female speaker. Based on the results from previous experiments, the researcher offered the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 2a. The male and female speakers (both described as politicians) will receive similar ratings of status.

Hypothesis 2b. The female speaker, however, will receive higher ratings of warmth while the male speaker will receive higher ratings of competence.

Finally, the present study was designed to explore the effect of listeners' group identification on ratings of standard and nonstandard speakers. Based on the conclusions of past researchers (Abrams & Hogg, 1987; Callan, Gallois, and Forbes, 1983; Mulac & Rudd, 1977), the following hypotheses were formed:

Hypothesis 3a. On the basis of listeners' level of southern identification, there will be no differences in ratings of southern and standard speakers on measures of message coherence, competence, intelligence, education, and status.

Hypothesis 3b. With regards to measures of character appeal and warmth, listeners who identify highly with the south will provide higher ratings for southern speakers than standard speakers to a greater extent than listeners who do not identify with the south.

Method

Participants

Eighty-one (35 males and 46 females) undergraduate students enrolled in an introductory psychology course at the College of William and Mary participated in this experiment. Because one goal of the present study was to investigate the possibility that the listeners' level of

identification with the South could affect person perception, all potential participants completed a southern identity questionnaire as part of a large mass-testing inventory at the beginning of the semester. This questionnaire, created by the researcher, included five items requiring each potential participant to indicate the extent to which he or she agreed with statements about self-identification with the South, such as “When asked to identify with a region of the United States, I identify with the South” and “Identification with the South is an important part of my self-image” (see Appendix A for complete questionnaire). Responses were gathered using a Likert-type scale ranging from *Strongly Disagree* (1) to *Strongly Agree* (7). The researcher then averaged each potential participant’s responses to this questionnaire and recruited participants for the present study based on their average score. Participants eligible for the low southern identity (SI) group were those participants who reported that they strongly disagreed with the majority of statements about self-identification with the South ($M_s < 2$). Participants eligible for the high southern identity (SI) group agreed with the majority of statements about self-identification with the South ($M_s > 5$). The eligible participants were then contacted by the researcher and a total of 58 low SI participants (28 males and 30 females) and 23 high SI participants (12 males and 11 females) completed the study and received credit toward the introductory psychology course research requirement.

Design

Participants were randomly assigned to one of four conditions, ultimately resulting in a 2 (participant southern identity: low vs. high) \times 2 (speaker gender: male vs. female) \times 2 (speaker dialect: standard vs. southern) between-subjects factorial design.

Materials

Recorded messages. To minimize the influence of extraneous variables, it was essential that the messages presented to participants were similar in as many aspects as possible, with the exception of the speaker's dialect. The researcher utilized what Lambert (1967) termed the "matched-guise" technique which "involves the presentation of tape-recorded voices of one speaker reading the same factually-neutral passage of prose in two or more dialects..." (Giles, 1970, p. 211). The content of the message consisted of a shortened version of one of former President Bush's less well-known speeches, "Remarks on America's Energy Predicament" (Bush, 2008; see Appendix B for complete message). The researcher selected the speakers, one male and one female, based on their standard dialect, their ability to produce a southern dialect, and the similarity between their southern dialect imitations. Both speakers were theatre majors at the College of William and Mary and had previously been trained to produce a Texas dialect. The researcher recorded two messages from each speaker, the first when they read the message in their normal, standard dialect and the second when they read the message while producing a southern dialect. After recording was completed, the messages were subjected to pilot testing to ensure that differences in the dialects were readily perceivable, and results confirmed that the dialects were measurably different. Pilot tests revealed that, after listening to the male speaker read the message in his standard dialect, only 2 out of 30 participants (6.67%) noted a southern dialect while 33 out of 35 participants (94.29%) observed a southern dialect after listening to the message recorded in his southern dialect. Similarly, 0 out of 29 participants (0%) discerned a southern dialect after listening to the female speaker's standard dialect message, but 31 out of 34 participants (91.18%) perceived a southern dialect after they listened to her message recorded in her southern dialect. The length of the recorded messages ranged from seven minutes and 12 seconds to eight minutes.

Questionnaire. The participant questionnaire consisted of 19 experimental questions, each consisting of a statement followed by a 7-point Likert-type scale, ranging from *Strongly Disagree* (1) to *Strongly Agree* (7). The researcher designed the participant questionnaire to incorporate the seven dependent measures concerning message and speaker characteristics: message coherence, competence, intelligence, level of education, status, warmth, and character appeal. The message coherence measured included three statements about the organization, flow, and coherence of the message (Schenck-Hamlin, 1978). For example, the item concerning organization included in the measure of message coherence stated, “The content of the message is delivered in an organized manner,” and each participant indicated their agreement (or disagreement) with the statement. The measure of competence consisted of three statements, similar to those utilized by McCroskey (1966) and Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002), concerning the confidence, reliability, and competence of the speaker. One example of an item measuring competence stated, “The speaker is competent in expressing his/her views on the various issues discussed.” The three questions comprising the measure of intelligence were selected for their correspondence to Sternberg’s (1988) three facets of intellect (i.e., creativity, wisdom, and intelligence). For instance, one item included to measure intelligence stated, “The speaker is wise.” Level of education was measured using two questions, one of which was taken from Pexman and Olinek (2002). One example of a statement included in this measure stated, “The speaker is well-educated.” The measure of status also consisted of only two questions, taken from McCroskey (1966) and Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu (2002), one of which stated, “The speaker has high status in our society.” The researcher measured warmth with three questions regarding the speaker’s tolerance, nature, and warmth (Fiske, Cuddy, Glick, and Xu, 2002). For example, the item concerning tolerance included in the warmth measure stated, “The

speaker is a tolerant person.” Finally, the three questions comprising the measure of character appeal instructed participants to indicate the extent to which he or she thought the speaker was honest, genuine, and possessed good character (McCroskey, 1966). One item included in the measure of character appeal stated, “The character of the speaker is good.” In addition to questions concerning these seven dependent measures, the questionnaire consisted of 19 filler questions consistent with the political cover story presented to participants by the experimenter. Some of these filler questions were structured like the experimental questions, such as the items that stated, “I vote with one party consistently in every election” or “The speaker highlighted one of the most important issues to discuss before an election,” and each participant indicated their level of agreement on a 7-point Likert scale ranging from *Strongly Disagree* (1) to *Strongly Agree* (7). Other filler items were constructed as open-ended or multiple-choice questions (see Appendix C for complete participant questionnaire).

Word-completion task. A word-completion task was included in this study as a measure of stereotype activation. Several versions of this task have been employed by past researchers to “measure the cognitive activation of constructs that are either recently primed or self-generated” (Steele & Aronson, 1995). The word-completion task utilized in this study is similar to the word fragment measure used by Steele and Aronson (1995) to measure stereotype activation in their racial stereotype threat study. These researchers reasoned that Black participants who were told that the test they were to complete during the course of the study was diagnostic of verbal ability would feel threatened by the racial stereotype that Black individuals perform worse on verbal tasks as compared to White individuals. Steele and Aronson believed that these feelings of threat would lead to higher levels of stereotype activation than those experienced by Black participants in the nondiagnostic condition. To test this hypothesis, they created a word-fragment completion

task which included a total 80 word fragments (for example, ___ C E), 12 of which could be solved with a word associated with a racial concept. Steele and Aronson developed this list of 12 race-related words by having a group of White students compile a list of words commonly associated with African Americans. The researchers selected the 12 most common concepts and chose a single word to represent each concept on the word-fragment completion task. Their final list of race-related words included words such as race, lazy, black, poor, class, brother, white, minority, welfare, color, and token. Steele and Aronson's results confirmed their hypothesis, demonstrating that Black participants in the diagnostic condition submitted more race-related completions on the word-fragment completion task than participants in any other condition. Similar to Steele and Aronson's hypothesis that being made aware of the diagnosticity of an impending verbal test would lead Black participants to experience a significant level of racial stereotype activation, the researcher of the present study predicted that hearing a message delivered in a southern dialect would lead listeners to experience a substantial level of southern stereotype activation. Specifically, it was hypothesized that participants who listened to a southern speaker would complete more word fragments to create southern-related words than participants who listened to a speaker with a standard dialect. Before creating the word-completion task, the researcher collected a list of southern-related words through pilot testing. Participants were asked to simply list as many stereotypes about the South as possible. After compiling the results of these pilot tests, the researcher selected 27 words (eight positive, 12 negative, and seven neutral) commonly associated with the South, and consistently listed by participants in the pilot testing task to include as experimental items (or word fragments that could be solved with a southern-related word) in the word completion task along with 11 neutral, filler items. Examples of southern-related experimental items include hospitable, guns,

conservative, bigot, and ignorant. The task included both free responses items (for example, F R _____ might be completed as friendly) and items with a fixed number of spaces (_ _ _ C E N T might be completed as accent; see Appendix D for complete word-completion task).

Procedure

The experiment took place in a computer lab, and each participant completed the experiment in groups ranging from two to five participants. The experimenter seated the participants at a computer as they arrived. Once all participants were present, the experimenter introduced them to the study and presented the cover story. Participants were informed that the experiment was designed to investigate differences in student responses to various political issues and candidates. Participants were told that they would be listening to one of several pre-recorded political campaign speeches and that they would fill out a questionnaire concerning the candidate's views on the issue discussed and personal characteristics as well as their own previous voting experiences and demographic information. After the experimenter collected each participant's informed consent form, participants began the questionnaire which they completed using the online survey tool Opinio. The first section of the questionnaire consisted of several demographic questions (e.g. age, gender) as well as a number of filler questions in line with the political cover story. After they completed the first section of questions, participants were directed by instructions within the questionnaire to change windows on their computer screen to the iTunes window where they listened to the pre-recorded message using earphones provided by the experimenter. The instructions stated that the participant, after listening to a few minutes of the recorded message, should return to the questionnaire window and begin section two of the questionnaire while the message continued to play. The second section contained a few more message-related filler questions as well as the 19 experimenter questions covering the

seven dependent variables (message coherence, competence, intelligence, level of education, status, warmth, and character appeal). After the participant completed this section of the questionnaire, instructions directed the participant to close the iTunes window and continue to the third and final section of the questionnaire which consisted of two questions. The first of these questions asked the participant to state what he or she thought the true nature of the study was. The second question was open-ended and simply asked the participant for further comments about the study. After the participant informed the experimenter that he or she had completed the questionnaire (as directed by final instructions on the questionnaire), the participant was asked by the experimenter to complete the word-completion task for another, ostensibly unrelated study. After participants handed in the word completion task, the experimenter provided each participant with a comprehensive debriefing form which outlined the rationales for the experimenter, briefly discussed previous research, and summarized the researcher's hypotheses.

Results

The current study investigated the effects of a speaker's dialect and gender and the listener's group identity and gender on person perception. Analyses were conducted using a 2 (speaker dialect: standard vs. southern) \times 2 (speaker gender: male vs. female) \times 2 (southern identification [SI]: low vs. high) \times 2 (participant gender: male vs. female) between-subjects analysis of variance (ANOVA). Because there were specific hypotheses about each dependent variable, separate ANOVAs were conducted to examine each of the seven speaker characteristics: message coherence, competence, intelligence, education, status, warmth, and character appeal.

Message Coherence

The three items included in the measure of message coherence were averaged into one score ($\alpha = .839$). While a main effect for speaker dialect was expected, the analysis yielded no significant main effects (all $F(3, 80) < 1$). Results showed a significant interaction between speaker gender and speaker dialect, $F(3, 80) = 4.58$, $p < .05$. The mean ratings for message coherence for each condition (collapsed across conditions of southern identity and participant gender) are displayed in Table 1 and graphed in Figure 1. Ratings for the male speaker followed the direction predicted in hypothesis 1a. Participants rated the speaker higher when he employed his standard dialect ($M = 5.98$, $SD = .892$) than when he imitated a southern dialect ($M = 5.49$, $SD = 1.08$). Ratings for the female speaker, however, ran in the opposite direction. Participants rated the speaker lower when she spoke in her standard dialect ($M = 5.55$, $SD = 1.16$) than when she simulated a southern dialect ($M = 6.08$, $SD = .557$).

Competence

When this three-item scale was subjected to a test of reliability, the scale demonstrated poor inter-item reliability. Therefore, each item was analyzed separately. Analysis of item 1 (“The speaker is confident in expressing his/her views on the various issues discussed”) yielded a marginally significant main effect for southern identity, $F(3, 80) = 3.31$, $p = .074$, such that high SI participants ($M = 6.33$, $SD = .577$) gave higher ratings of confidence than low SI participants ($M = 6.02$, $SD = .946$). Contrary to hypotheses, there were no main effects for speaker dialect (hypothesis 1a) and speaker gender (hypothesis 2b), but results showed a marginally significant interaction between speaker gender and speaker dialect, $F(3, 80) = 3.17$, $p = .080$. The mean ratings for item 1 for each condition (collapsed across conditions of southern identity and participant gender) are displayed in Table 2 and graphed in Figure 2. Again, only ratings for the male speaker followed the pattern predicted in hypothesis 1a. Participants rated the male speaker

as more confident when he spoke in his standard dialect ($M = 6.05$, $SD = 1.39$) than when he imitated a southern dialect ($M = 5.74$, $SD = 0.733$). Conversely, participants rated the female speaker slightly less confident when she employed her standard dialect ($M = 6.25$, $SD = 0.550$) than when she simulated a southern dialect ($M = 6.33$, $SD = 0.483$). Finally, analysis yielded a marginally significant interaction between speaker dialect and participant gender, $F(3, 80) = 3.81$, $p = .055$. The mean ratings for item 1 for each condition (collapsed across conditions of southern identity and speaker gender) are displayed in Table 3 and graphed in Figure 3. Male participants' ratings were consistent with hypothesis 1a. Males rated the standard speakers ($M = 6.31$, $SD = .704$) higher on confidence than the southern speakers ($M = 5.88$, $SD = .697$). Female participants' ratings, however, ran in the opposite direction. Females rated the standard speakers ($M = 6.04$, $SD = 1.22$) as slightly less confident than the southern speakers ($M = 6.17$, $SD = .650$).

Ratings for item 2 ("The speaker is not a reliable source of information on the various issues discussed") were reversed scored and the analysis yielded a marginally significant main effect for southern identity, $F(3, 80) = 2.89$, $p = .094$. Low SI participants ($M = 4.71$, $SD = 1.36$) rated speakers as more reliable than high SI participants ($M = 4.09$, $SD = 1.56$). Neither analysis of item 2 nor analysis of item 3 ("The speaker is competent in expressing his/her views on the various issues discussed") yielded the predicted main effects for speaker dialect (hypothesis 1a) and speaker gender (hypothesis 2b).

Intelligence

This scale also demonstrated poor-item reliability when subjected to a test of reliability. Therefore, each item was analyzed separately. After score reversal, item 1 ("The speaker is not creative") yielded a significant main effect for speaker gender, $F(3, 80) = 4.83$, $p < .05$. The

female speaker ($M = 4.54$, $SD = 1.03$) was rated as significantly more creative than the male speaker ($M = 3.77$, $SD = 1.27$). Contrary to hypothesis 1a, no main effect for speaker dialect was revealed.

Analysis of item 2 (“The speaker is wise”) revealed a significant main effect for speaker dialect, $F(3, 80) = 6.71$, $p < .05$, such that participants rated southern speakers ($M = 4.29$, $SD = 1.27$) as significantly wiser than standard speakers ($M = 3.94$, $SD = 1.37$). While a main effect for speaker dialect was predicted, hypothesis 1a predicted that ratings would run in the opposite direction. A marginally significant main effect for participant gender was also revealed, $F(3, 80) = 3.18$, $p = .079$, such that male participants ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 1.36$) gave significantly lower ratings than female participants ($M = 4.26$, $SD = 1.29$). Finally, results also indicated a significant interaction between southern identity and speaker dialect, $F(3, 80) = 6.73$, $p < .05$. The mean ratings for item 2 for each condition (collapsed across conditions of speaker gender and participant gender) are displayed in Table 4 and graphed in Figure 4. Low SI participants rated the standard speakers ($M = 4.12$, $SD = 1.18$) as slightly less wise than southern speakers ($M = 4.19$, $SD = 1.36$). Conversely, ratings from high SI participants demonstrated a more drastic increase from ratings of standard speakers ($M = 3.38$, $SD = 1.85$) and ratings of southern speakers ($M = 4.50$, $SD = 1.09$).

Analysis of item 3 (“The speaker is intelligent”) did not yield the expected main effect for speaker dialect, but revealed a significant interaction between speaker gender and speaker dialect, $F(3, 80) = 4.85$, $p < .05$. The mean ratings for item 3 for each condition (collapsed across conditions of southern identity and participant gender) are displayed in Table 5 and graphed in Figure 5. This interaction followed the same pattern as other interactions involving speaker gender and speaker dialect. Participants rated the male speaker as more intelligent when

they heard his standard dialect ($M = 5.26$, $SD = 1.45$) than when they heard his southern dialect ($M = 4.67$, $SD = .913$). In contrast, participants rated the female speaker lower when she used her standard dialect ($M = 4.85$, $SD = .988$) than when she imitated a southern dialect ($M = 5.43$, $SD = .870$).

Education

The two items included in the education measure were averaged into one score ($\alpha = .744$). While the predicted main effect for speaker dialect was not revealed, the analysis yielded a marginally significant interaction between speaker gender and speaker dialect, $F(3, 80) = 3.94$, $p = .051$. This interaction was qualified by a marginally significant three-way interaction between southern identity, speaker gender, and speaker dialect, $F(3, 80) = 3.87$, $p = .054$. The mean ratings for education for each condition are displayed in Table 6 and graphed in Figure 6. For low SI participants, speaker gender and speaker dialect did not drastically affect ratings of education. The male speaker was rated slightly higher when participants heard his standard dialect ($M = 5.63$, $SD = .896$) than when they heard his southern dialect ($M = 5.39$, $SD = .820$) whereas the female speaker was rated slightly lower when participants heard her standard dialect ($M = 5.40$, $SD = 1.56$) than when they heard her southern dialect ($M = 5.60$, $SD = .737$). For high SI participants, however, speaker gender and speaker dialect affected ratings to a greater extent. The male speaker was rated considerably higher when he employed his standard dialect ($M = 6.88$, $SD = .250$) than when he simulated a southern dialect ($M = 5.00$, $SD = .756$), but the female speaker was rated slightly lower when she spoke in her standard dialect ($M = 5.80$, $SD = .570$) than when she imitated a southern dialect ($M = 6.00$, $SD = .548$).

Status

The two items comprising the status measure demonstrated poor inter-item reliability when subjected to a test of reliability. Analysis of item 1 (“The speaker is economically successful”) did not reveal any significant main effects or interactions (all p 's ns). Analysis of item 2 (“The speaker has high status in our society”) yielded only a main effect for participant gender, $F(3, 80) = 4.34$, $p < .05$, such that male participants' ratings of status ($M = 4.63$, $SD = 1.09$) were significantly higher than those of female participants ($M = 4.13$, $SD = 1.26$). Consistent with hypothesis 2a, no main effect for speaker gender was revealed in analysis of either item, meaning that results demonstrated no gender differences in ratings of status.

Warmth

The three items included in the education measure were averaged into one score ($\alpha = .681$). Analysis yielded a significant main effect for speaker dialect, $F(3, 80) = 4.66$, $p < .05$. Participants rated the southern speakers ($M = 4.67$, $SD = .917$) as significantly warmer than the standard speakers ($M = 4.12$, $SD = .804$). The main effect for speaker gender predicted by hypothesis 2b and the interaction between southern identity and speaker dialect were not significant.

Character Appeal

When this three-item scale was subjected to a test of reliability, the scale demonstrated poor inter-item reliability. Therefore, each item was analyzed separately. Ratings for item 1 (“The speaker is a dishonest person”) were reversed scored. While analysis did not yield the predicted main effect for speaker dialect, a significant main effect for participant gender, $F(3, 80) = 5.23$, $p < .05$, was revealed. Female participants' ratings ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.14$) of honesty were significantly higher than those of male participants ($M = 4.60$, $SD = 1.22$). Results also indicated a significant interaction between speaker dialect and participant gender, $F(3, 80) =$

7.39, $p < .01$. Both effects were qualified by a significant three-way interaction between southern identity, speaker dialect, and participant gender, $F(3, 80) = 5.73$, $p < .05$. The mean ratings for character appeal item 1 for each condition (collapsed across conditions of speaker gender) are displayed in Table 7 and graphed in Figure 7. In the low SI condition, both male and female participants rated the southern speakers as slightly more honest than the standard speakers. Female participants' ratings of standard speakers ($M = 5.27$, $SD = 1.28$) and southern speakers ($M = 5.31$, $SD = 1.08$) were slightly higher than those of male participants ($M = 4.40$, $SD = 1.18$; $M = 4.67$, $SD = .985$). In contrast, male participants in the high SI condition rated the southern speakers ($M = 5.29$, $SD = 1.25$) as considerably more honest than the standard speakers ($M = 2.00$, $SD = .000$) while female participants rated the southern speakers ($M = 4.50$, $SD = .837$) as less honest than standard speakers ($M = 5.75$, $SD = 1.04$).

Analysis of item 2 ("The speaker is a genuine person") did not reveal any significant main effects or interactions (all p 's ns). Analysis of item 3 ("The character of the speaker is good") yielded only a marginally significant main effect for speaker dialect, $F(3, 80) = 3.15$, $p = .081$. Consistent with hypothesis 1b, participants rated southern speakers ($M = 4.62$, $SD = .962$) more favorably than standard speakers ($M = 4.21$, $SD = 1.13$).

Stereotype Activation

In addition to measuring the effects of speaker gender and dialect and listener group identity and gender on these seven speaker characteristics, the effects of speaker dialect (and possibly listener group identity) on stereotype activation was measured by a word-completion task. It was hypothesized that the presentation of an audio recording of a southern speaker would lead listeners to experience a substantial level of southern stereotype activation. Participants who listened to a southern speaker were expected to complete more word fragments

to create southern-related words than participants who listened to a standard speaker. In analyzing the results of the word-completion task, the investigator counted each participant's total number of southern-related completions as well as the number of positive and negative southern-related completions. Contrary to the researcher's prediction, analysis of the total number of southern-related word completions did not reveal a main effect for speaker dialect, but yielded a significant interaction between speaker dialect and participant gender, $F(3, 80) = 5.67$, $p < .05$. The means of total southern-related word completions for each condition (collapsed across conditions of southern identity and speaker gender) are displayed in Table 8 and graphed in Figure 8. While results from female participants followed the predicted pattern, with females who heard the southern dialect completing slightly more southern-related word completions ($M = 5.50$, $SD = 2.50$) than those who heard the standard dialect ($M = 5.00$, $SD = 1.88$), results from male participants ran in the opposite direction. Males who heard the southern dialect ($M = 4.53$, $SD = 2.32$) completed considerably less southern-related word fragments than those who heard the standard dialect ($M = 6.44$, $SD = 2.56$). Analysis of the number of negative southern-related word completions revealed a very similar interaction between speaker dialect and participant gender, $F(3, 80) = 7.91$, $p < .01$. The means for each condition (collapsed across conditions of southern identity and speaker gender) are displayed in Table 9 and graphed in Figure 9. Female participants who heard the southern speakers ($M = 2.50$, $SD = 1.50$) completed slightly more negative southern-related word fragments than those who heard the standard speakers ($M = 1.91$, $SD = 1.48$) whereas male participants who heard the southern speakers ($M = 1.47$, $SD = .841$) completed less negative southern-related word fragments than those who heard the standard speakers ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.61$). Analysis of positive southern-related word completions yielded no main effects or interactions (all $F_s(3, 80) < 1$).

Discussion

The present research investigated the influence of speaker gender, speaker dialect, and listener group identity on listeners' perceptions of the speaker. Participants listened to a recording and heard one of four voices delivering the same message. The speaker was either male or female and spoke with either a standard or southern American dialect. While listening to the recorded message, participants evaluated speakers on seven characteristics: message coherence, competence, intelligence, education, status, warmth, and character appeal. Based on previous research, it was expected that evaluations would be affected by the speaker's gender and dialect, as well as individual differences in southern identity. Hypotheses were partially supported. Results demonstrated that a southern dialect significantly influenced listeners' perceptions of the speaker on a number of dimensions. First, the speakers' southern dialect positively affected ratings of the warmth and character appeal as compared to their standard dialects. Southern speakers were rated as significantly warmer than the standard speakers. With respect to character appeal, analysis of the item concerning honesty demonstrated that southern identity, speaker dialect, and participant gender interacted to influence participant ratings. Participants in three out of four conditions rated the southern speakers as more honest than the standard speakers. Analysis of another character appeal item ("The character of the speaker is good") demonstrated that southern speakers received higher ratings than standard speakers. Overall, participants rated the southern speakers more favorably than standard speakers on measures of character appeal, and this result contests Schenck-Hamlin's (1978) finding that a southern speaker received lower ratings of character appeal than a standard speaker.

Second, the speaker's dialect interacted with participant gender to influence ratings of the speaker's confidence. Results demonstrated that only male participants significantly decreased

ratings of confidence for the southern speaker; ratings of confidence given by female participants were slightly higher for the southern speakers versus the standard speakers, but the difference was not significant. This gender difference in perceptions of nonstandard speakers is consistent with Fuertes, Potere, and Ramirez's (2002) suggestion that men are exceptionally influenced by nonstandard speech (i.e., speakers with nonstandard dialects or accents) when placed in an evaluative position.

Third, ratings of four speaker characteristics (message coherence, competence, intelligence, and education) were significantly affected by the speaker's dialect and gender and revealed the exact same pattern. The male speaker was rated significantly lower on these measures when he produced a southern dialect. These results are consistent with previous southern dialect research (Mulac & Rudd, 1977; Schenck-Hamlin, 1978) as well as investigations of nonstandard dialects in general (St. Clair & Giles, 1980; Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum, 1960; Ryan & Carranza, 1975). The unexpected aspect of these results is that ratings for the female speaker increased when she simulated a southern dialect in comparison to ratings of her standard dialect. The difference in ratings of confidence (included in the competence measure) was very small as compared to the difference in ratings for the other measures. Ratings of education indicated the same interaction of speaker dialect and gender, but listeners' southern identification also influenced their perceptions of the speakers' education. The female speaker was rated as slightly more educated when participants heard her southern dialect as opposed to her standard dialect whereas the male speaker received lower ratings of education when he spoke with a southern dialect rather than his standard dialect. The latter aspect of this trend is consistent with Mulac and Rudd's (1977) finding that southern speakers are perceived as less educated than standard speakers. This decrease in ratings of the male

speaker's southern dialect was most evident in high SI participants' ratings. The significant influence of listeners' southern identification on ratings of education was unexpected and difficult to explain. While past researchers (Callan, Gallois, & Forbes, 1983; Mulac & Rudd, 1977; Preston, 1963) have shown that male and female nonstandard speakers are perceived differently on various traits and characteristics, none have indicated such a clear interaction of dialect and gender as the interaction that appeared in ratings of message coherence, competence, intelligence, and education in the current study.

Three results from this study are inconsistent with conclusions reached by past researchers. One result which does not align with previous findings involves the influence of a speaker's dialect on ratings of intelligence (Mulac & Rudd, 1977; Schenck-Hamlin, 1978; St. Clair & Giles, 1980; Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, and Fillenbaum, 1960; Ryan & Carranza, 1975): participants rated the southern speakers as significantly wiser than the standard speakers. This may be explained, however, by the poor inter-item reliability demonstrated by the intelligence scale. While the three items included in the measure of intelligence were selected for their correspondence to Sternberg's (1988) three facets of intellect (i.e., creativity, wisdom, and intelligence), all of these items do not necessarily represent intelligence to the same extent. One aspect of this result, however, is consistent with past research. An interaction between southern identity and speaker dialect demonstrated that high SI participants exhibited this increase in ratings of southern versus standard speakers to a significantly greater extent than low SI participants. This result corresponds with research supporting social identity theory (Tajfel, Billig, Bundy, and Flament, 1971; Tajfel and Turner, 1975; Tajfel and Turner, 1979) in that high SI participants rated southern speakers (the relevant ingroup) more favorably than standard

speakers to a greater extent than low SI participants (who viewed the southern speakers as the outgroup).

The lack of gender differences on measures of competence and warmth is also inconsistent with previous conclusions reached by gender stereotype researchers (Rosenkrantz, Vogel, Bee, Broverman, & Broverman, 1968; Spence, Helmreich, & Stapp, 1975). There are two possible explanations for this lack of gender differences on these measures. First, the gender differences usually observed in gender stereotype research do not appear when participants are rating one specific male or female as opposed to a person in some hypothetical situation or the stereotypical male or female. Eagly (1987) highlighted two methods employed to measure the content and extent of gender stereotypes. The first involves rating the typical man or woman on a questionnaire which presents each stereotypical trait on a continuous scale. An example is a rating scale ranging from *Dominant* (1) to *Submissive* (7). The second method entails an estimation of the percentage of each gender possessing certain stereotypical traits. Researchers utilizing each of these methods have consistently arrived at similar results regarding the existence of specific gender stereotypes (Broverman, Vogel, Broverman, Clarkson, & Rosenkrantz, 1972; Deaux & Lewis, 1983, Eagly & Kite, 1987; Eagly & Steffen, 1984, Jackman & Senter, 1980). In the current study, however, participants were asked to rate specific individuals on stereotypical traits after hearing his or her voice, and ratings did not reveal the common gender stereotypes firmly established by past research. Perhaps the difference in methodology may explain this surprising result. An alternative explanation is that participants rated male and female speakers similarly because they were informed that all speakers were of the same profession. Research supporting the SCM postulates that, when females enter the workforce and become professionals, perceptions of warmth and competence change. These

professional women are perceived differently than the stereotypical female, who is often described as incompetent but warm, and similarly to males, who are perceived as competence and lacking warmth.

Another finding which does not correspond with past research is the word completion task results. The researcher of the present study hypothesized that participants who listened to a southern speaker would complete more word fragments to create southern-related words than participants who listened to a speaker with a standard dialect. Analysis of the total number of southern-related word completions demonstrated that female participants exhibited the predicted pattern and completed more southern-related word fragments after listening to a southern speaker. This result is consistent with Gilbert and Hixon's (1991) finding that exposure to a stereotype target increases the activation of the corresponding stereotypes. These authors found that participants who were exposed to an Asian woman completed more word fragments to complete Asian stereotypes than participants who were exposed to an Asian woman. Male participants, on the other hand, completed more southern-related word fragments after listening to the standard speaker. A similar interaction was revealed in analysis of the number of negative southern-related word completions: females completed more word fragments to complete southern-related words after listening to the southern speaker whereas males completed more after listening to the standard speaker. It is difficult to explain how male participants who listened to a message delivered by a standard speaker completed more southern-related word fragments.

Finally, analyses revealed a number of surprising and unprecedented results. First, ratings on two items included in the competence measure were affected by participants' level of southern identification. High SI participants rated speakers as more confident than low SI

participants. This pattern was reversed on the second item: low SI participants perceived speakers as more reliable than high SI participants. Given the very low number of participants in the high SI condition, it is likely that these effects are simply a coincidence. Second, the female speaker was perceived as more creative than the male speaker. Third, gender differences were revealed in analysis of three measures: intelligence, status, and character appeal. Female participants gave significantly higher ratings than male participants on intelligence (“The speaker is wise”) and character appeal (“The speaker is honest”). Conversely, male participants’ ratings of status (“The speaker has high status in our society”) were significantly higher than those of female participants.

Implications

The current study has demonstrated that perceptions of southern speakers, especially males, are influenced by their southern dialect. Specifically, a southern dialect positively influenced perceptions of some traits (e.g., warmth, character appeal), but negatively affected perceptions of other traits (e.g., message coherence, competence, intelligence, education). The negative perceptions evoked by a southern dialect, as well as other nonstandard dialects, have serious real-world implications. A great deal of research has been dedicated to the investigation of different environments in which perceptions of an individual might be affected by his or her dialect, and the results of such studies confirm that the influence of an individual’s dialect are far-reaching. In an exploration of “the effect of speech style...on employers’ perceptions about competence,” Blair and Connor (1978, p. 35) found that White job applicants speaking with a nonstandard, rural dialect “were rated 10 percent to 13 percent lower than standard-speaking Whites” (p. 36). De Klerk and Bosch (1995) highlight the possibility of negative attitudes about nonstandard speakers having detrimental consequences and leading to self-fulfilling prophecies

in educational environments (i.e., instructors' expectations and students' level of achievement). The results from three studies conducted by Fuertes, Potere, & Ramirez (2002) suggest that dialects have a measurable influence in a clinical setting. They demonstrated that clients rate therapists with nonstandard dialects lower in their evaluations on the therapist's expertness and attractiveness. Clients working with nonstandard-speaking therapists also report decreased "expected rapport and willingness to work with" such therapists on interpersonal evaluations (p. 352). Results from the present study add to this growing literature by indicating that, after simply listening to a recorded voice, individuals make favorable judgments about the target's warmth and character appeal, but negative judgments about the speaker's coherence, intelligence, and education on the sole basis of his or her southern dialect.

Shortcomings

Four major limitations of the current study should be highlighted. First, the experimenter who ran all participants in this study spoke with a noticeable southern dialect which may have influenced participants' ratings. The experimenter of future studies should speak with a standard dialect to avoid displaying any demand characteristics. Second, while the study was conducted in Virginia (traditionally viewed as a southern state), very few students in the participant pool identified highly with the south and only some of those students participated in the study. Therefore, the high SI participants in this study are certainly not representative of the general population of people who identify with the South. Future studies should be conducted in settings where high SI participants are more readily available and more representative of the southern population in general. Third, when questioned about the true nature of the study, nearly half of participants who listened to the recorded message with the southern speaker correctly speculated that the study involved some investigation of the southern dialect. The researcher was compelled

to include these participants' data because of a shortage of participants. Even though both speakers in this study had been previously trained in the production of a southern dialect, their imitations of the dialect may have been too obvious for the current study. In future studies, perhaps a southern speaker who has previously been trained to produce a standard dialect may be employed to record the message. Utilizing a natural southern speaker (as opposed to a standard speaker who imitates a southern dialect) may help to diminish demand characteristics. Finally, the items comprising the various measures included on the participant questionnaire were not pretested to confirm inter-item reliability. Future researchers utilizing a similar questionnaire should pretest to ensure that all items included on a certain dimension equally represent the construct. A larger, more representative sample and an improved participant questionnaire may produce more clear-cut results than those attained in the current study.

Conclusions

The current study demonstrates that an observer's group identification as well as a target's gender and dialect combine to influence person perception. Results indicate that individuals' perceptions of southern speakers are significantly impacted by speaker dialect. Perceptions of warmth and character appeal may be positively influenced, but, in line with previous research, southern dialect may have a negative impact on assessments of competence, intelligence, and education. Future investigations of the southern dialect in the person perception process should be conducted utilizing a natural southern speaker. With respect to the speaker's gender, common gender differences in perceptions of competence and warmth were absent from the results. The methodology employed in the current study may account for this inconsistency with previous research. Future research should replicate the methods used in this study to confirm that stereotyping on the basis of gender does not apply when only an individual's voice

is available to the observer. Finally, results demonstrate that an individual's group identification influences perceptions of ingroup and outgroup members to some extent. Researchers conducting future studies of listeners' southern identification and perceptions of southern speakers should take care to conduct the study in a setting where participants who highly identify with the south are readily available.

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Appendix A

Southern Identity Questionnaire

I identify with the South.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Identification with the South is an important part of my self-image.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Identification with the South is an important reflection of who I am.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Identification with the South is unimportant to my sense of what kind of a person I am.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Identification with the South has very little to do with how I feel about myself.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Appendix B

Recorded Message

For many Americans, there is no more pressing concern than the price of gasoline. Truckers and farmers and small business owners have been hit especially hard. Every American who drives to work, purchases food, or ships a product has felt the effect. And families across our country are looking to Washington for a response.

High oil prices are at the root of high gasoline prices. And behind those prices is the basic law of supply and demand. In recent years, the world's demand for oil has grown dramatically. Meanwhile, the supply of oil has grown much more slowly. As a result, oil prices have risen sharply, and that increase has been reflected at American gasoline pumps. Now much of the oil consumed in America comes from abroad -- that's what's changed dramatically over the last couple of decades. Some of that energy comes from unstable regions and unfriendly regimes. This makes us more vulnerable to supply shocks and price spikes beyond our control -- and that puts both our economy and our security at risk.

In the long run, the solution is to reduce demand for oil by promoting alternative energy technologies. Numerous committees in Congress have encouraged investment in gas-saving technologies like advanced batteries and hydrogen fuel cells. A large expansion in the use of alternative fuels has been mandated. Fuel efficiency standards have been raised to ambitious new levels. With all these steps, we are bringing America closer to the day when we can end our addiction to oil, which will allow us to become better stewards of the environment.

In the short run, the American economy will continue to rely largely on oil. And that means we need to increase supply, especially here at home. Congress has been repeatedly called on to expand domestic oil production. Unfortunately, some members of Congress have rejected

virtually every proposal -- and now Americans are paying the price at the pump for this obstruction. Congress must face a hard reality: Unless all Members are willing to accept gas prices at today's painful levels -- or even higher -- our nation must produce more oil. And we must start now. So this morning, I ask Congressional leaders to move forward with four steps to expand American oil and gasoline production.

First, we should expand American oil production by increasing access to the Outer Continental Shelf, or OCS. Experts believe that the OCS could produce about 18 billion barrels of oil. That would be enough to match America's current oil production for almost ten years. The problem is that Congress has restricted access to key parts of the OCS since the early 1980s. Since then, advances in technology have made it possible to conduct oil exploration in the OCS that is out of sight, protects coral reefs and habitats, and protects against oil spills. With these advances -- and a dramatic increase in oil prices -- congressional restrictions on OCS exploration have become outdated and counterproductive.

Some in Congress have proposed several promising bills that would lift the legislative ban on oil exploration in the OCS. This legislation should give the states the option of opening up OCS resources off their shores, provide a way for the federal government and states to share new leasing revenues, and ensure that our environment is protected. There's also an executive prohibition on exploration in the OCS. When Congress lifts the legislative ban, the executive prohibition will be lifted.

Second, we should expand oil production by tapping into the extraordinary potential of oil shale. Oil shale is a type of rock that can produce oil when exposed to heat or other processes. In one major deposit -- the Green River Basin of Colorado, Utah, and Wyoming -- there lies the equivalent of about 800 billion barrels of recoverable oil. That's more than three times larger than

the proven oil reserves of Saudi Arabia. And it can be fully recovered -- and if it can be fully recovered it would be equal to more than a century's worth of currently projected oil imports.

For many years, the high cost of extracting oil from shale exceeded the benefit. But today the calculus is changing. Companies have invested in technology to make oil shale production more affordable and efficient. And while the cost of extracting oil from shale is still more than the cost of traditional production, it is also less than the current market price of oil. This makes oil shale a highly promising resource.

Unfortunately, some members of Congress are standing in the way of further development. In last year's omnibus spending bill, these opponents inserted a provision blocking oil shale leasing on federal lands. That provision can be taken out as easily as it was slipped in -- and Congress should do so immediately.

Third, we should expand American oil production by permitting exploration in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, or ANWR. When ANWR was created in 1980, Congress specifically reserved a portion for energy development. In 1995, Congress passed legislation allowing oil production in this small fraction of ANWR's 19 million acres. With a drilling footprint of less than 2,000 acres -- less than one-tenth of 1 percent of this distant Alaskan terrain -- America could produce an estimated 10 billion barrels of oil. That is roughly the equivalent of two decades of imported oil from Saudi Arabia. Yet my predecessor vetoed this bill.

In the years since, the price of oil has increased seven-fold, and the price of American gasoline has more than tripled. Meanwhile, scientists have developed innovative techniques to reach ANWR's oil with virtually no impact on the land or local wildlife. Members of Congress should allow this remote region to bring enormous benefits to the American people.

And finally, we need to expand and enhance our refining capacity. Refineries are the critical link between crude oil and the gasoline and diesel fuel that drivers put in their tanks. With recent changes in the makeup of our fuel supply, upgrades in our refining capacity are urgently needed. Yet it has been nearly 30 years since our nation built a new refinery, and lawsuits and red tape have made it extremely costly to expand or modify existing refineries. The result is that America now imports millions of barrels of fully-refined gasoline from abroad. This imposes needless costs on American consumers. It deprives American workers of good jobs. And it needs to change.

So today I'm proposing measures to expedite the refinery permitting process. Under the reformed process that I propose, challenges to refineries and other energy project permits must be brought before the D.C. Circuit Court of Appeals within 60 days of the issuance of a permit decision. Congress should also empower the Secretary of Energy to establish binding deadlines for permit decisions, and to ensure that the various levels of approval required in the refinery permitting process are handled in a timely way.

With these four steps, we will take pressure off gas prices over time by expanding the amount of American-made oil and gasoline. We will strengthen our national security by reducing our reliance on foreign oil. We will benefit American workers by keeping our nation competitive in the global economy -- and by creating good jobs in construction, and engineering, and refining, maintenance, and many other areas.

The proposals I've outlined will take years to have their full impact. There is no excuse for delay -- as a matter of fact, it's a reason to move swiftly. I know some leaders have opposed some of these policies in the past. Now that their opposition has helped drive gas prices to record levels, I ask them to reconsider their positions.

I know this is a trying time for our families, but our country has faced similar strains before and we've overcome them together -- and we can do that again. With faith in the innovative spirit of our people and a commitment to results in Washington, we will meet the energy challenges we face -- and keep our economy the strongest, most vibrant, and most hopeful in the world.

Thank you for your time.

Appendix C

Participant Questionnaire

Age: _____

Gender: Male Female

Academic Class: Freshman Sophomore Junior Senior

US Region: Northeast Southeast Midwest West Southwest N/A

Which statement best describes your high school experience?

- A) I attended a public high school.
- B) I attended a private high school.
- C) I was home-schooled.

What is the highest level of education your mother has completed?

- A) High School (or GED)
- B) Some college
- C) Associate's degree
- D) Bachelor's degree
- E) Graduate degree
- F) Not sure

What is the highest level of education your father has completed?

- A) High School (or GED)
- B) Some college
- C) Associate's degree
- D) Bachelor's degree
- E) Graduate degree
- F) Not sure

I would describe myself as a religious person.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Are you registered to vote?

Yes No

Which statement best describes you as a voter.

- A) I have voted every year since I reached the eligible age of 18.
- B) I have voted most years since I reached the eligible age of 18.
- C) I have voted at least once since I reached the eligible age of 18.
- D) Even though I have reached the eligible age of 18, I have never voted.

I vote with one party consistently in every election.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I vote, not with one specific party, but for the candidate with whom I agree on the most important issues.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

- A) Republican
- B) Democrat
- C) Independent

In general, would you describe your political views as conservative, moderate, or liberal?

- A) Conservative
- B) Moderate
- C) Liberal

Which of the following best describes how and why you arrived at your present set of political opinions and political agenda?

- A) Logical appraisal of the evidence.
- B) Inherent qualities of my nature, character or intelligence.
- C) The effects of propaganda or upbringing.
- D) Pursuit of my agenda may result in personal advantage.

Why do your political opponents hold the opinions or agendas they do?

- A) Logical appraisal of the evidence.
- B) Inherent qualities of their nature, character or intelligence.
- C) The effects of propaganda or upbringing.
- D) Pursuit of their agenda may result in personal advantage.

Who did you vote for in the recent presidential election?

The speaker highlighted one of the most important issues to discuss before an election.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I agree with the speaker's position on all the various points discussed.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

What additional information, if any, could the speaker have emphasized that would have made his/her arguments stronger or made you more likely to agree with him/her?

I believe that, if implemented, this candidate's plan will solve the problem he/she discussed.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I would not likely have voted for the speaker if he/she was campaigning to represent my district.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The content of the message is delivered in an organized manner.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The content of the message does not flow smoothly.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The content of the message is coherent.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is confident in expressing his/her views on the various issues discussed.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is not a reliable source of information on the various issues discussed.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is competent in expressing his/her views on the various issues discussed.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is not creative.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is wise.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is intelligent.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

I would attribute a low level of education to the speaker.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is well-educated.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is not economically successful.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker has high status in our society.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is a tolerant person.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is not a good-natured person.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is a warm person.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is a dishonest person.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The speaker is a genuine person.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

The character of the speaker is good.

Strongly Disagree 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 Strongly Agree

Comments

The researcher is interested in any end-of-study comments you might have.

What do you believe the true nature of this study is? In other words, what do you think the researchers are studying?

Further comments

Appendix D

Word Completion Task

Fill in the missing letters to complete the first word that comes to mind.

Here are some examples:

B R O _ _ might be completed as BROWN.

B R O _____ might be completed as BROTHERLY

FR _____

PRE _____

D U S _

TE A _

H O S _____

RED _ _ _ _

S _ E E T

REL _____

LE A _

B A T _____

P A T _____

PRO _ _

W A R _

REPU _____

WEL _____

S _ _ PLE

_ _ CENT

MON _____

MED _____

S _ _ W

_ IGO _

STU _____

CONS _____

RACI _ _

CAR _

H _ _ K

COU _____

TRA _____

_____CATED

B _ ND

GU _ S

_____GENT

_ ON _

SHO _

_____RANT

_ OUTH

F _ N

BEA _

Table 1

Message Coherence Means (Standard Deviations) as a Function of Speaker Gender and Speaker Dialect

| | Speaker Dialect | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Standard | Southern | Row Means |
| Male Speaker | 5.98 (.89) | 5.49 (1.08) | 5.73 (1.01) |
| Female Speaker | 5.55 (1.16) | 6.08 (.56) | 5.82 (.93) |
| Column Means | 5.76 (1.05) | 5.79 (.90) | |

Table 2

Competence Question 1 ("The speaker is confident in expressing his/her views on the various issues discussed") Means (Standard Deviations) as a Function of Speaker Gender and Speaker Dialect

| | Speaker Dialect | | |
|----------------|-----------------|------------|-------------|
| | Standard | Southern | Row Means |
| Male Speaker | 6.05 (1.39) | 5.74 (.73) | 5.89 (1.11) |
| Female Speaker | 6.25 (.55) | 6.33 (.48) | 6.29 (.51) |
| Column Means | 6.15 (1.04) | 6.05 (.68) | |

Table 3

Competence Question 1 ("The speaker is confident in expressing his/her views on the various issues discussed") Means (Standard Deviations) as a Function of Speaker Dialect and Participant Gender

| | Speaker Dialect | | Row Means |
|---------------------|-----------------|------------|------------|
| | Standard | Southern | |
| Male Participants | 6.31 (.70) | 5.88 (.70) | 6.09 (.72) |
| Female Participants | 6.04 (1.22) | 6.17 (.65) | 6.11 (.97) |
| Column Means | 6.15 (1.04) | 6.05 (.68) | |

Table 4

Intelligence Question 2 (“The speaker is wise”) Means (Standard Deviations) as a Function of Southern Identity and Speaker Dialect

| | Speaker Dialect | | |
|------------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Standard | Southern | Row Means |
| Low Southern Identity | 4.12 (1.18) | 4.19 (1.36) | 4.15 (1.26) |
| High Southern Identity | 3.38 (1.85) | 4.50 (1.09) | 4.09 (1.48) |
| Column Means | 3.94 (1.37) | 4.29 (1.27) | |

Table 5

Intelligence Question 3 (“The speaker is intelligent”) Means (Standard Deviations) as a Function of Speaker Gender and Speaker Dialect

| | Speaker Dialect | | |
|----------------|-----------------|------------|-------------|
| | Standard | Southern | Row Means |
| Male Speaker | 5.26 (1.45) | 4.67 (.91) | 4.95 (1.22) |
| Female Speaker | 4.85 (.99) | 5.43 (.87) | 5.15 (.96) |
| Column Means | 5.05 (1.23) | 5.05 (.96) | |

Table 6

Education Means (Standard Deviations) as a Function of Southern Identity, Speaker Gender, and Speaker Dialect

| Low Southern Identity | | | Row Means |
|------------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------|
| | Standard Dialect | Southern Dialect | |
| Male Speaker | 5.63 (.90) | 5.39 (.82) | 5.52 (.86) |
| Female Speaker | 5.40 (1.56) | 5.60 (.74) | 5.50 (1.20) |
| Column Means | 5.52 (1.26) | 5.50 (.77) | |
| High Southern Identity | | | |
| | Standard Dialect | Southern Dialect | Row Means |
| Male Speaker | 6.88 (.25) | 5.00 (.76) | 5.63 (1.11) |
| Female Speaker | 5.80 (.57) | 6.00 (.55) | 5.91 (1.54) |
| Column Means | 6.28 (.71) | 5.43 (.83) | |

Table 7

Character Appeal Question 1 (“The speaker is a dishonest person”) Means (Standard Deviations) After Score Reversal as a Function of Southern Identity, Speaker Dialect, and Participant Gender

| | Low Southern Identity | | Row Means |
|---------------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------|
| | Standard Dialect | Southern Dialect | |
| Male Participants | 4.40 (1.18) | 4.67 (.99) | 4.52 (1.09) |
| Female Participants | 5.27 (1.28) | 5.31 (1.08) | 5.29 (1.25) |
| Column Means | 4.83 (1.29) | 5.04 (1.07) | |
| | High Southern Identity | | |
| | Standard Dialect | Southern Dialect | Row Means |
| Male Participants | 2.00 (.00) | 5.29 (1.25) | 4.88 (1.64) |
| Female Participants | 5.75 (1.04) | 4.50 (.84) | 5.21 (1.12) |
| Column Means | 5.33 (1.58) | 4.92 (1.12) | |

Table 8

Word Completion Task, Total Number of Southern-related Completions, Means (Standard Deviations) as a Function of Speaker Dialect and Participant Gender

| | Speaker Dialect | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Standard | Southern | Row Means |
| Male Participants | 6.44 (2.56) | 4.53 (2.32) | 5.40 (2.58) |
| Female Participants | 5.00 (1.88) | 5.50 (2.50) | 5.26 (2.21) |
| Column Means | 5.59 (2.27) | 5.07 (2.44) | |

Table 9

*Word Completion Task, Total Number of Negative Southern-related Completions, Means
(Standard Deviations) as a Function Speaker Dialect and Participant Gender*

| | Speaker Dialect | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|
| | Standard | Southern | Row Means |
| Male Participants | 2.94 (1.61) | 1.47 (.84) | 2.14 (1.44) |
| Female Participants | 1.91 (1.48) | 2.50 (1.50) | 2.21 (1.50) |
| Column Means | 2.33 (1.60) | 2.05 (1.34) | |

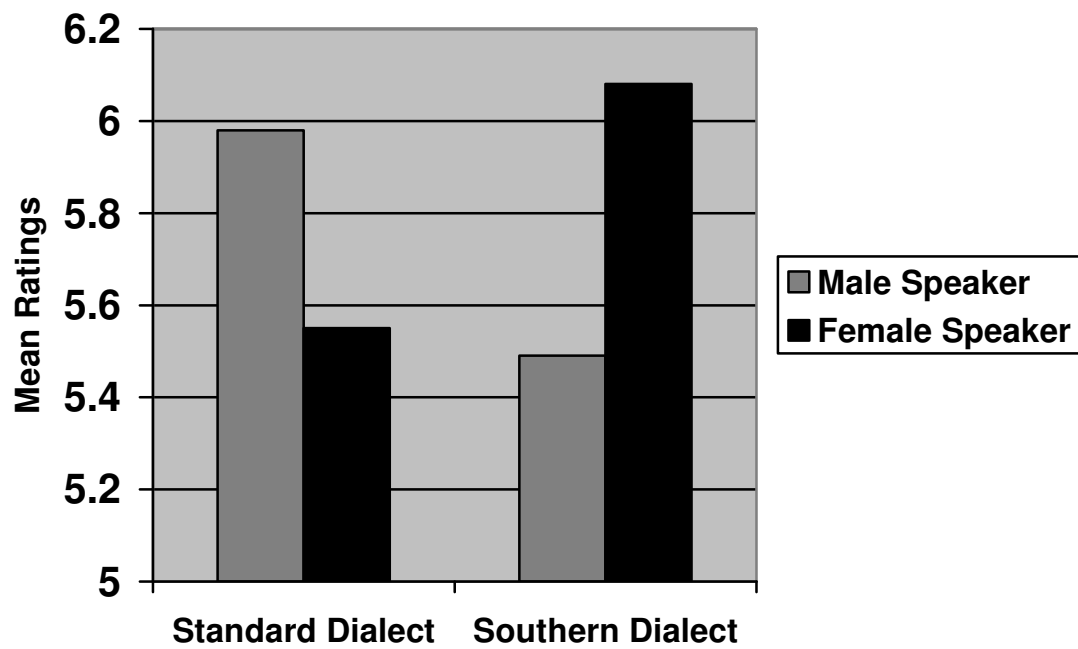


Figure 1. Message Coherence Means as a Function of Speaker Gender and Speaker Dialect

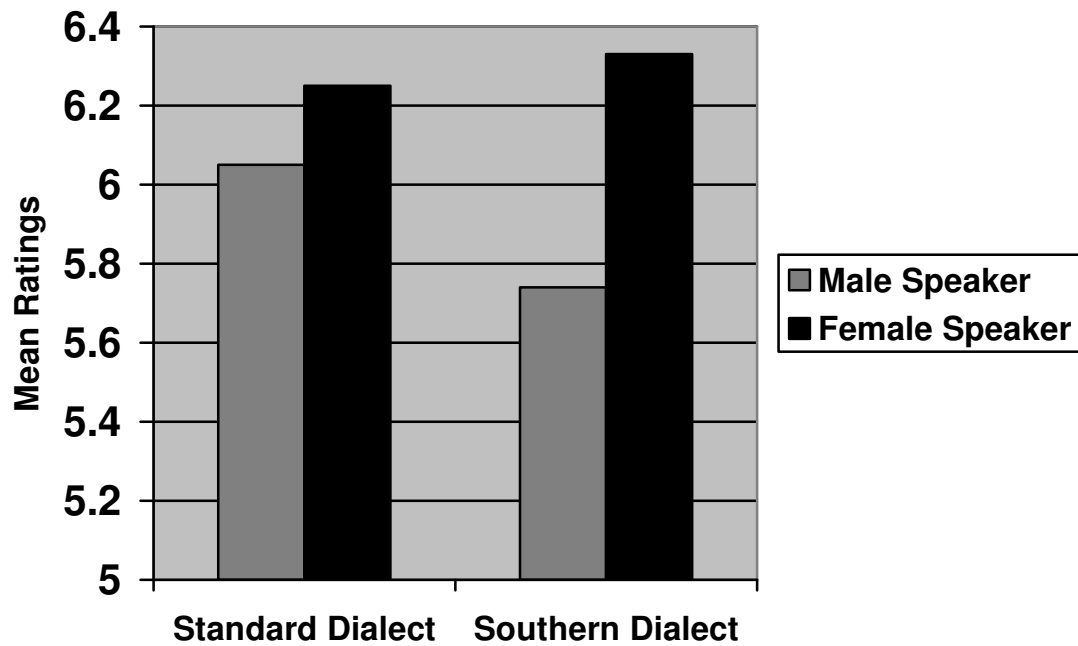


Figure 2. Competence Question 1 ("The speaker is confident in expressing his/her views on the various issues discussed") Means as a Function of Speaker Gender and Speaker Dialect

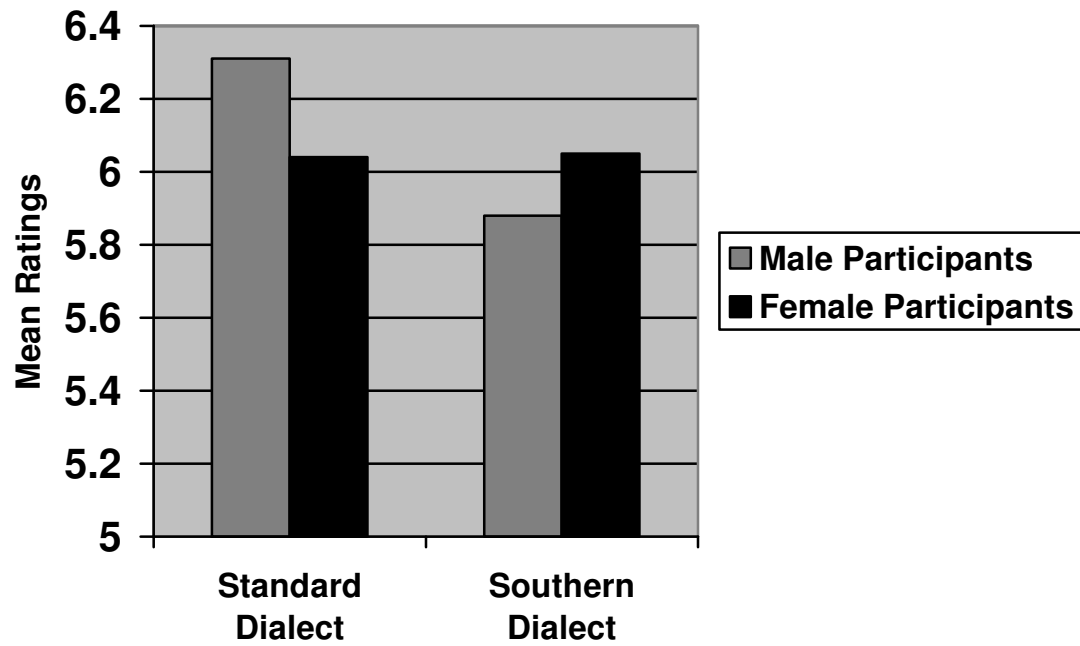


Figure 3. Competence Question 1 ("The speaker is confident in expressing his/her views on the various issues discussed") Means as a Function of Speaker Dialect and Participant Gender

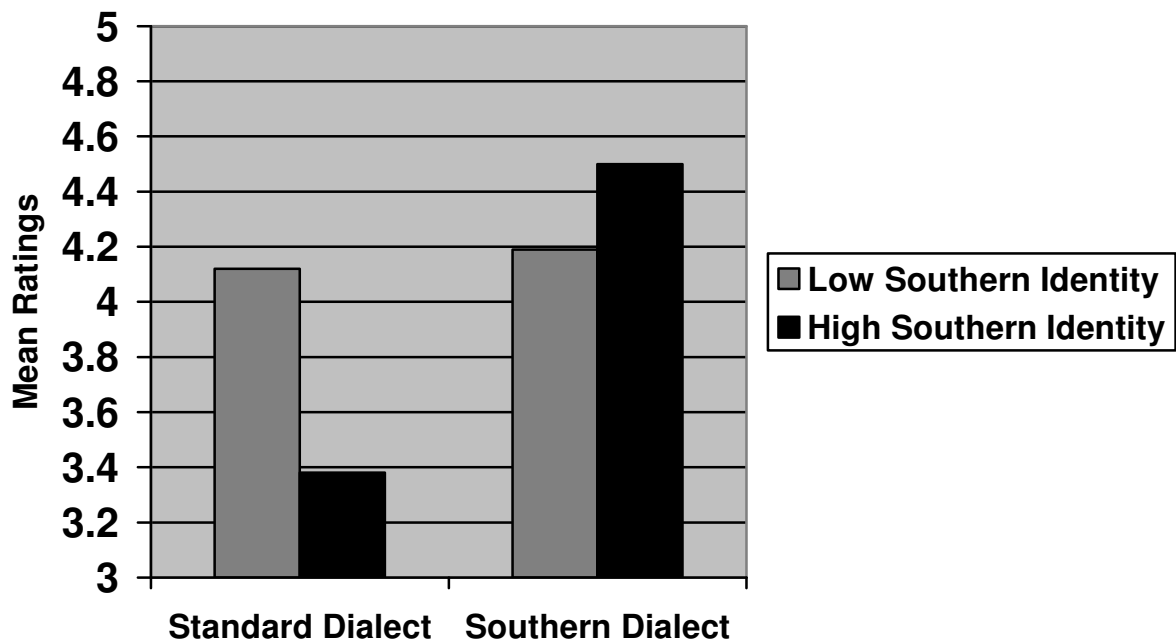


Figure 4. Intelligence Question 2 (“The speaker is wise”) Means as a Function of Southern Identity and Speaker Dialect

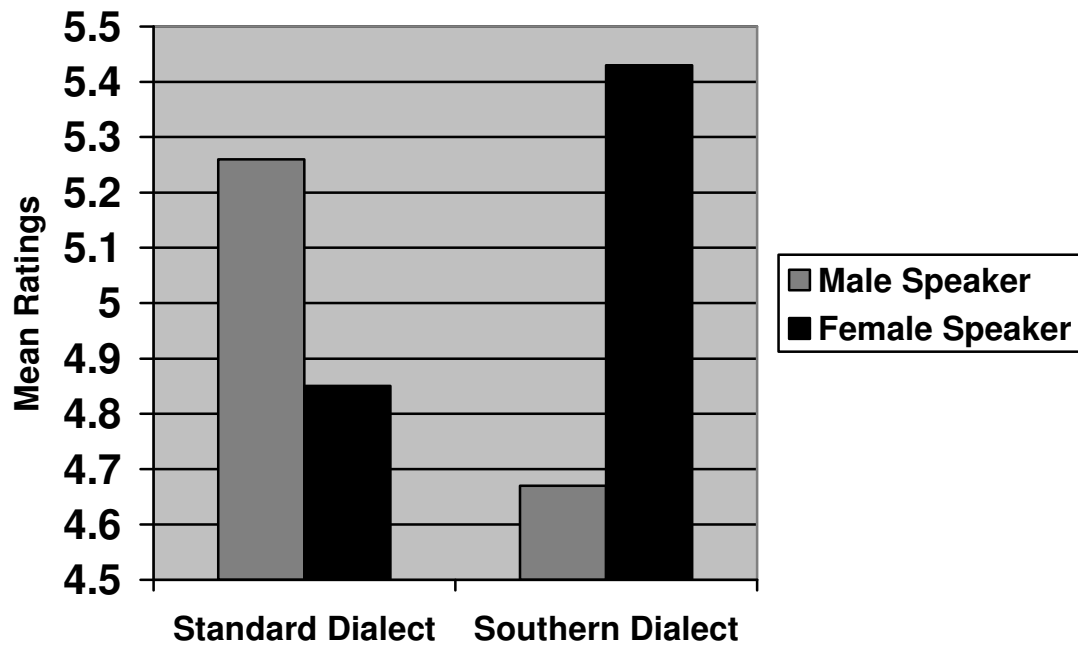


Figure 5. Intelligence Question 3 ("The speaker is intelligent") Means as a Function of Speaker Gender and Speaker Dialect

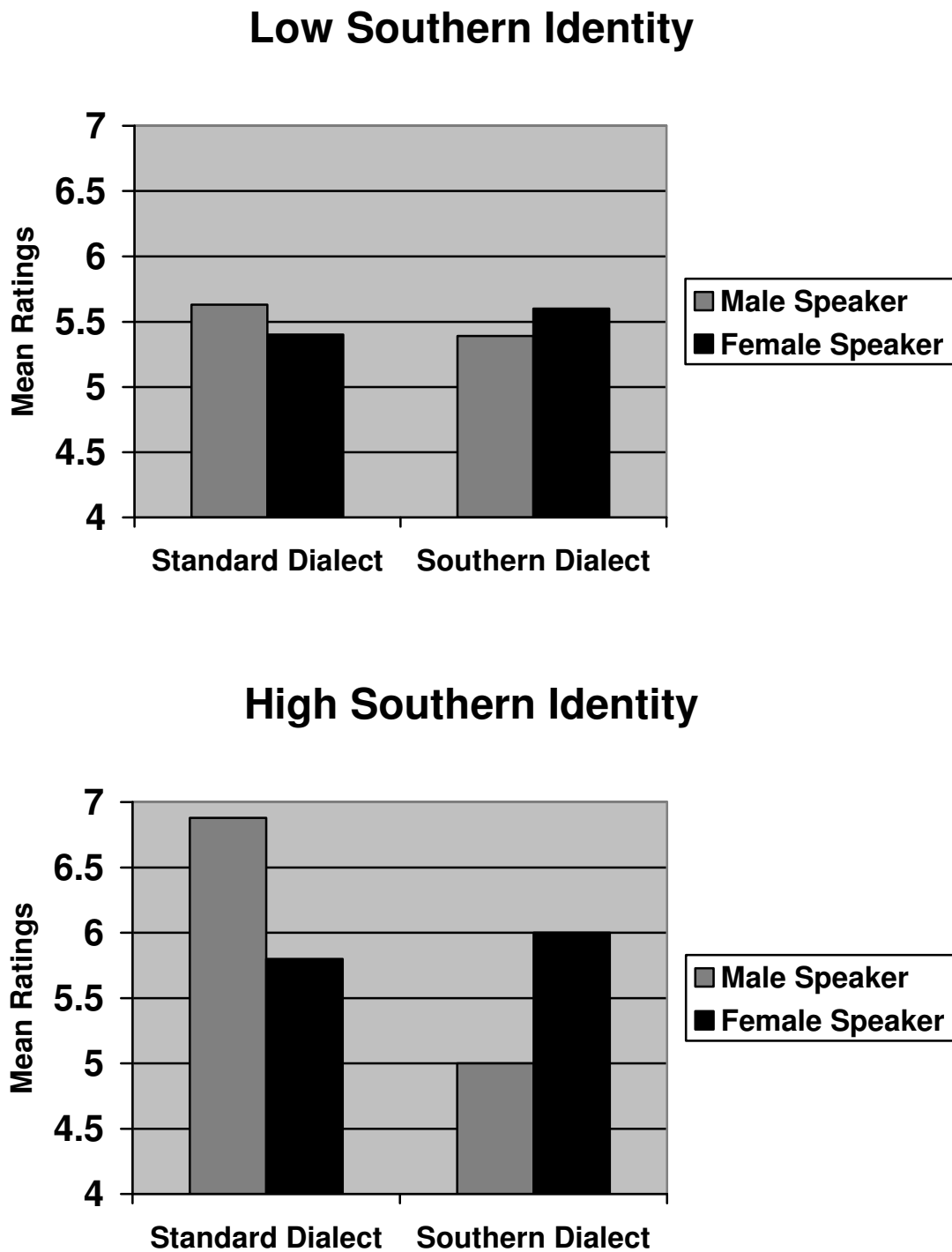


Figure 6. Education Means as a Function of Southern Identity, Speaker Gender, and Speaker Dialect

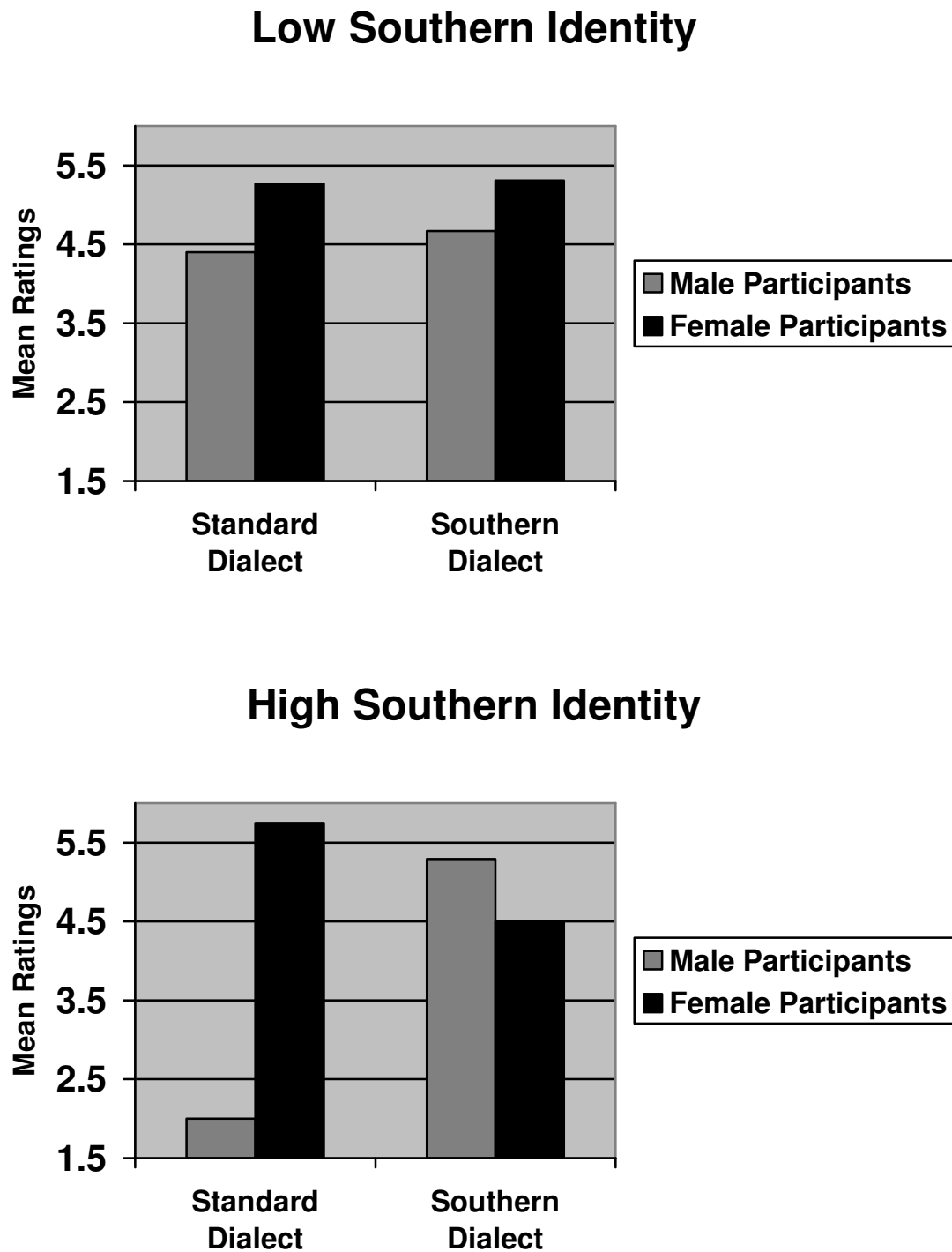


Figure 7. Character Appeal Question 1 (“The speaker is a dishonest person”) Means After Score Reversal as a Function of Southern Identity, Speaker Dialect, and Participant Gender

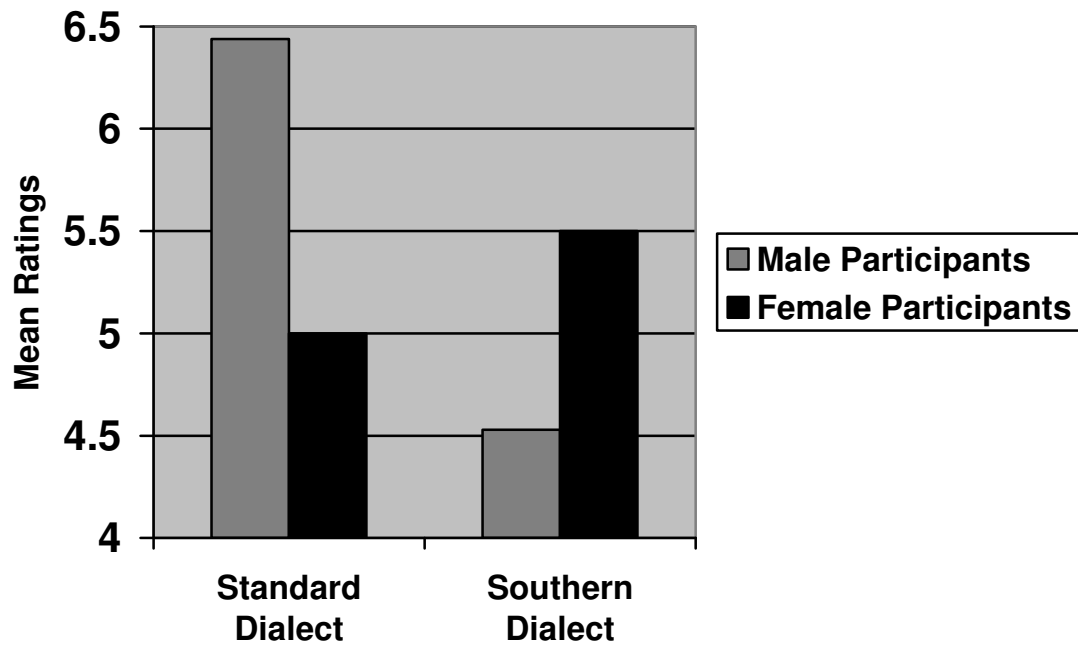


Figure 8. Word Completion Task, Total Number of Southern-related Completions, Means as a Function of Speaker Dialect and Participant Gender

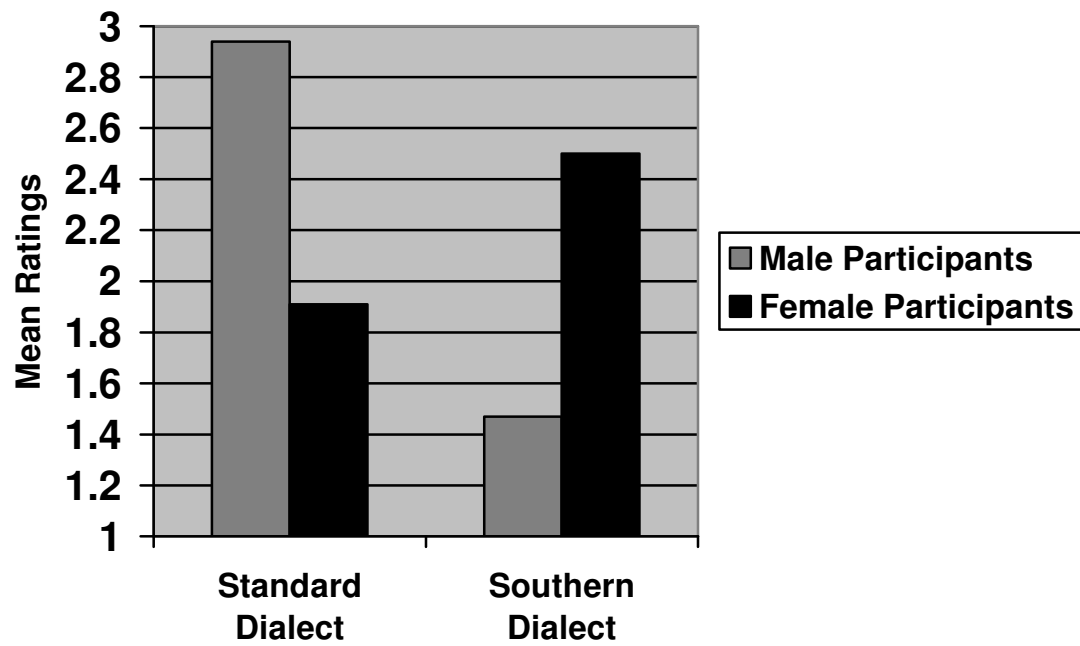


Figure 9. Word Completion Task, Total Number of Negative Southern-related Completions, Means as a Function Speaker Dialect and Participant Gender